

ARE THE BANKS
STILL SAFE?

Maclean's

Working-Class Hero

A close-up portrait of Lech Walesa, a man with a mustache, wearing a suit and tie, looking slightly to the right.

**Solidarity Leader
Lech Walesa
Is Set To Become
Poland's
President**

**One Year After The
Berlin Wall, Racism
Sweeps Eastern
Europe**



THERE'S VODKA.



AND THEN THERE'S SMIRNOFF.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 24, 1992 \$2.15 (US \$3.50) NO. 18

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COVER PHOTO BY MICHAEL SABA

COVER

WORKING-CLASS HERO

Lech Wałęsa is challenging his former ally, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, in elections for the Polish presidency, marking a profound division in the Solidarity trade union movement, which helped inspire anti-Communist revolts across Central and Eastern Europe last year. Elsewhere in the region, disillusioned citizens face high inflation, racism and extreme nationalities.

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BUSINESS

BANKING IN BAD TIMES

The publicly-traded chairman of the Bank of Nova Scotia, Cedric Belfrage, says that criticism of the bank because of its heavy lending in the United States is unfounded. But analysts on Bay Street say that the bank's portfolio of high-risk loans makes it vulnerable to the effects of a deep recession.

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CANADA

THE LESSONS OF POWER

In Ontario Premier Bob Rae's New Democrats prepared for this week's throne speech, the new government deployed extreme caution in setting its agenda. The decision to withdraw funds from Toronto's planned ballet-opera house is only the first of many difficult choices that Rae will have to make.

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Cover photo and this page by Michael Saba



The Dangers Of Racism

The rebirth of nationalism in the now-dissolved Soviet empire of Eastern Europe is a dangerous, potentially disastrous development that, if unchecked, could lead to the replacement of Communist dictatorships with something far more ugly. Most nationalist movements, from Yugoslavia to what was once East Germany, are based on hate, resentment and profound racial prejudice. Many of these re-arouse the dormant anti-Semitism that has stained the 20th century and, in the Balkans, caused so much grotesque injustice. All of them are anti-ethnic. Nationalism in its current context is merely an expression of confidence and self-affirmation. As Federal Affairs Minister Joe Clark noted last week: "One of the consequences of the end of the Cold War was that restraints that used to be in place on conflicts are relaxed, if not lifted."

It is undoubtedly the removal of dictatorships and the withdrawal of Soviet domination that account for the rise of part of the reborned fervor. But it is also the ensuing collapse of the soaring expectations that accompanied freedom which is stirring jealousy, disillusionment and bitterness. For the most part, the nations of Eastern Europe, as well as many of the Soviet republics themselves, now lack even the crudest forms of economic order, and their trading relationships are in tatters.

For all that, the relatively prosperous countries of the West, particularly those that are NATO members, have been negligent in extending a hand of aid and trade. And a Europe in which the East flounders in poverty and growing anger while the West prospers is an unsustainable prospect. For Canada, a first step towards correcting the balance would be to bring immediate pressure on the federal government to join in a massive airlift of food, proposed by West Germany, to at least alleviate the prospect of widespread food shortages—and perhaps starvation—in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. That would at least lay the groundwork for a long-term process of rebuilding.



Berlin. Red across re-arming the demoralized anti-Semitism that has stalked the century.

Kevin Wray

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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Publisher: James H. Harkin

LETTERS

DEBATING CANADA'S FUTURE

The wording of your Nov. 10 cover story's title is misleading ("What does Canada want?" Canada/Conc.). The grammatical structure implies singularity when, in fact, our mosaic society dictates plurality. As long as we have a slightly muddled up of groups with labels such as *Slightly-Canadians*, *French-Canadians* and *first-Canadians*, we are going to be divided. It is time to unite and become *Canadian* first, ethnic and regional groups second.

Dale Matthews,
Georgetown, Ont.

You took eight pages to answer a simple question: "What does Canada want?" Most Canadians would answer it in four words: a new prime minister.

Andrew Schneider,
Quebec, Ont.

I am looking forward to see that you placed Brian Mulroney's signature under the "What does Canada want?" headline. Politicians come and go but your country is your country and death, A Maple Leaf under the headline would have been much more appropriate.

Roger Innes,
Fredericton

Why is Canada's youth not represented on the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future? Surely, young people could have been found who would have gladly served on this committee. I, for one, have great faith in young people. Apparently, that faith is not shared by the government that appointed the forum.

Marjorie Young,
Ottawa

Is not Brian Mulroney Prime Minister because he knows what Canada wants? Then why does he need a panel to tell him?

Andrew Burkes,
Burlington, Ont.

IS WAR ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY?

Brian Atwell's column "Why war is the Gulf is absolutely necessary" (Nov. 16) suggests one way much. I have a son serving in the U.S. marines in Saudi Arabia now, and if Barbara Atwell had a son or daughter there, she would not be so eager to start a war. By all means, let us strive for a negotiated peace. That does not mean peace at any price, nor loss of lives, but if peace and freedom can be possible without the horror that war would bring, let us go for it.

Art Sandbrook,
Durham, N.S.



Mulroney: 'a new prime minister'

Anti-articles may suggest reasons why the United States and its allies must take action if the Gulf crisis is to be resolved. However, most must be allowed to negotiate his way out of Kuwait with a promise of co-operation and war reparations. He cannot be relied on to abide by the terms of a peaceful agreement. Taking the "soft option" presented by peaceful settlement

will not ensure that Iraq will leave Kuwait alone. It will only make a mockery of justice and threaten the well-being of an innocent nation.

Steven P. Stralberg,
London, Ont.

A YOGI COMEDY

Martin Rowe's letter strokes some mighty "weak" "proofs" for the efficacy of the Manitoba Midweek Yogi's meditation performance ("The meditators," Nov. 18). It is the nature of stock markets to go up and down, and proposals for peace in the Middle East have been in the air of all times since the crisis began. Any studies that rely on such proofs are best served up as comedy rather than science.

Patrick McLaughlin,
Mississauga

BABY BOOMERS

It sounds to me as if Allan Fotheringham is a student of the "smooth consciousness and expensive hair" of J. D. Roberts ("The J. D. Robertsdorf on CTV," Column, Nov. 12). The baby boomers are in the limelight now, and there is not much Bob can do about it.

Jonker Dwyer,
Mississauga, Ont.

PASSAGES

DIED: British journalist and social critic Malcolm Muggeridge (87, in a nursing home in Sussex, England). Muggeridge had been a foreign correspondent for *The Guardian*, a senior editor at the *Daily Telegraph* and a popular television commentator. He was editor of *Punch*, the satirical weekly, from 1963 until 1973. Muggeridge frequently attacked credulous and idealistic by taking aim at such moralists as Sir Winston Churchill, John F. Kennedy and even Queen Elizabeth II. During the 1950-1959 academic year, Muggeridge held the office of "distinguished visitor" at the University of Western Ontario, although he called himself the "old back in residence."



DIED: Veterans CBC broadcaster Elwood Glover, 75, in a Toronto hospital after a long battle with heart disease. The network's *Elwood Glover's Lifestyles* date began as a radio program in 1958 and moved to television in 1964. As a public advocate of children, he earned the nickname Mr. Hand. His audience loved it.

DIED: In his sleep at his home in Eastbourne, England, British tennis champion Richard Lewis. He Lewis was one of the first English wingers to become world famous in sports and concert.

DIED: Actress Eva Arden, 78, in her Beverly Hills, Calif., home, of heart failure. Often typcast as the angry best friend of the heroine, Arden also frequently played widow, single women when about 32

wasn't even portrayed as housewives. Arden played the title role of the widowed teacher in the radio and TV series *Our Miss Brooks* from 1948 until 1957.

DIED: Roger Mennell, 56, a friend and former adviser to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, at his home in Brighton, Que., as a complicated recurrent cancer that police were investigating.

DESTROYED: Canadian-born race horse Northern Dancer, 29, after a severe head stroke, in Chesapeake City, Md. Dancer was the first Canadian horse to win both the Kentucky Derby and the Preakness, in 1964. But his performance at stud is his greatest legacy. While Dancer sired 16,651 foals, mating 14 out of 17 crops. 595 of his offspring have won purses totaling \$103 million.

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LETTERS

ART, DEPRIVITY AND DEBATE

Your article "Art and obscenity" (The Arts, Oct. 15) was a bit more one-sided than should be expected from a newsmagazine. Only briefly do you mention the subject matter of Robert Rauschenberg's seven abstract photographic "Anal penetrations" to justify the same as describing the actual content of a list courted into an area. And you do not mention the lyrics of the songs for which the rap group 2 Live Crew was tried. The primary marketing target for the album are teenagers to vote, but libelous text books should be allowed to leave songs praising violence against women, among other choice subjects. Both sides of the issue should be presented, but all your story did was demonstrate that you have little faith in your readers' ability to form their own opinions.

At Michael Olszewski,
Nantucket, Ont.

"Art and obscenity" demonstrates clearly the depth of depravity to which North American society has sunk. We should condemn not only the producers of obscene "art," but also the general public who, by its attendance, lends credence to the acceptability of such material as art. The situation is even more tragic when gallery directors try to evade legitimacy in such deprecate productions. Anyone who can be convinced that art includes photographs of a man urinating in another man's mouth, or of a crucifix in urine, surely needs to have his or her head examined. Such productions are the atrocities of our society, leading us at society. What ever happened to decency?

G. E. Andrew,
Calgary

A BAD TAX PLAN

I was appalled to learn that the inheritance tax/obscenity may become an issue for politicians. "Confronting the tax man," Cover, Nov. 5). An unorthodox use of money has been peacefully accumulated over the years by my hardworking, savings-conscious parents. That estate—which is the net result of money already taxed, by the way—will be further reduced by capital gains taxes. And yet politicians entertain the idea of imposing an inheritance tax. My parents have already paid more than their share in society. They are still paying, while trying to enjoy a well-earned retirement. Society has no right over the inheritance my parents may leave in this life. Nor do governments, which are trying to find new sources of revenue to finance their deficits.

David Oleson,
Hill, Que.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should clearly name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editors, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's Reader Box, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

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LETTERS

WHERE THE DINOSAURS ROAM

Fred Rensing's viewpoint seems to be off topic ("Clash the din of the dinosaurs," *Column, Dec. 22*). Although the residents of Lou (Oton seems to have been quite local, and I do not consider it, the real issue is whether females should be in the locker room. Let women be sportswomen, let their interviewers rate athletes, but keep them out of men's dressing rooms.

Gary Kohl,
Toronto

If you walk into the men's den, you should expect to get smacked. If you walk into a locker room, you are sure to experience language and antics confined to that domain. Surely, interviews with these lightly covered and less than noteworthy little boys could be done outside the locker room, by reporters of both sexes.

Paul Miller,
Guelph, Ont.

CONFUSION OVER HIBERNIA

In Hibernia, the government of Canada is promising an opportunity, not catastrophe to Peter C. Newman would have us believe ("The ending mystery of Hibernia's creation," *Business Week, Oct. 20*). Hibernia will open up prosperous offshore industries that will create many marketable skills for residents of the Atlantic region and elsewhere in the country, and other offshore projects will reap benefits from the infrastructure created by Hibernia. The project will contribute to the long-term viability of Canada's oil-and-gas industry, and will provide about 12 per cent of our light oil production by the year 2000. The numerous mental adaptations governing Hibernia are widely considered to be the most stringent in the world. Finally, it is too easy to tell where the oil will be refined. If Canadian refineries can do the job, so much the better.

John Kipp,
Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources,
Ottawa

Clyde Wells needs no help in defining his position or advancing the interests of his own province regarding the Hibernia project. If Newman is so opposed to the Hibernia development, why would he not direct his criticism towards the Mulroney government? Or would that be too anti-Tory?

Pat McCarthy,
Agincourt, Ont.

If Peter Newman could see the world from my perspective rather than that of a central Canadian, perhaps he would be able to understand the unbridled attitude of most Newfoundlanders

To stop his snoring, Libby told me to sew tennis balls in his pajamas.

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LETTERS

to developments such as Hibernia. We live with the constant reminder that our major industries are subject to the control of Central Canada. We are accustomed to being forced by political powers who think that not only do we regard it as "better than nothing," and then being ignored in as Canada's western province.
C. K. Brown,
St. John's, Nfld.

Does Peter Newman deliberately misrepresent Clyde Wells, or is he merely having problems with the English language? Newman's example of "classic reversal" on Wells's part is that on Sunday night Wells voted the "Incumbent" of Hibernia and on the next day pointed out that Mulroney was being unfair in portraying Hibernia as "federal largesse." Again, Newman fails to make a distinction, in this case between "Incumbent" and "Incumbent." I assume Mulroney's can lend him a dictionary. Newman says that Wells seems "obsessed" with trying to cut down the *Idiot*. I say Newman seems obsessed with trying to cut down Wells.
Joan Farney,
Toronto

A ONE-SIDED BATTLE

Calling Barbara Amiel a "goat" ("The battle of the goats," *Opening Notes*, Oct. 26/94) is a great understatement. To compare Amiel with world-renowned writer Germaine Greer is ludicrous. Greer has changed the way women view themselves in the Western world; she has altered the course of Western culture with her books. Barbara Amiel is a "goat" only at *Maclean's*—and in her own mind.
Meredith Joe,
Toronto

PEACEKEEPER, OR PLOW?

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has declared that young Canadians must do in the Middle East ("Raising the stakes," *World*, Nov. 15). But he has not explained why. The average Canadian can only guess at what the real reasons are. What we can be sure of is that the military buildup is nowhere harmful to the United States, since that country is the leader of this crusade. But why is it as our national interest to be so deeply involved in the Gulf conflict? The Iraqi have done us no harm. So why has our government decided that it is all right for our people to get killed there?
N. M. Soudaie,
Pleasant Hill

For generations, politicians have been all too ready to send the young to be wounded, maimed and killed to shore up the political fortunes of the middle-aged. I fear that Peter

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LETTERS

Minister Mulroney's indignation is more a desperate lunge to deflect public opinion and regain favor than a principled rebuttal to an end anguishing. How many other acts of international aggression have this and previous Canadian governments let pass? Were other governments any less worthy of support than the brutal Kuwaiti rulers?

John Dicker,
Ottawa

Your story sends the message that war is the only solution. If the extraordinary accumulation of military potential in the Gulf ever explodes into action, wholesale massacre of civilians will ensue. The economic and diplomatic action in the Kuwait issue must succeed. The alternative—"Cry Havoc" and let slip the dogs of war"—may well destroy the last hope for the survival of mankind.

Frank Stewart,
Kelowna, B.C.

Patricia Carlson writes that our Canadian Forces have been sent to the Persian Gulf solely to serve these master, the oil industry ("Where in the house front," *Letters*, Oct. 28). Forgetting that the world takes a dim view of the rape and destruction of a small, defenceless



U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, questioning the purpose—and price—of Gulf conflict

country by a powerful neighbor, Carlson might consider whether she is prepared to see the North American economy controlled by a tyrannical dictator. But this is not simply a dispute over the price of oil. We are dealing with a ruthless criminal, not unlike Hitler, who is fully prepared to use any weapon to achieve

his ends. I appreciate that, in the Western world, we have come to take for granted the good life, but I trust that we have not lost the courage and the will to protect our freedom and democracy, which are never guaranteed.

D. M. Brown,
Southampton, Ont.

Canadians should remember that we are very selective about which missions we criticize. Panama, Grenada, the Dominican Republic—our words said little. We should also remember that, for years, Canadian companies, along with U.S. companies operating in Canada, have been selling military equipment to Iraq and other countries with appalling human rights records. We, in fact, have helped Saddam Hussein to do what he is doing now. One wonders how independent our foreign policy is.

Marlene West,
Calgary, Alta.

DAIRY FOODS AND 'DRIVEL'

In your recent story "Food for living" (*Cover*, Oct. 22), Peggy Chynoweth of the University of Massachusetts fears that, by giving up dairy products, consumers, especially women, will be depriving themselves of needed calcium. Why isn't this food scientist aware of the recent and voluminous medical and nutritional research showing that the high-protein dairy foods actually lead to net calcium loss? A food expert's responsibility should be to presenting a sincerely healthful diet, not lobbying for dairy products.

Wanda Davis,
St. Jacobs, Ont.

If I had wanted to keep current on such critical nutritional data as what a few so-called celeb-

ties say or say not out, I would have scanned my local supermarket talkies ("What the celebrities eat"). I had thought such drivel was beneath Marlene's. You disappoint me.

Peter Zimansky,
Calgary

A 'REFRESHING' FORCE

The Reform Party of Canada is coming to us on the inequality of the established parties ("On the march," *Cover*, Oct. 26). It is easy to be opposed to all the issues that have hurt the country, but it is quite a different challenge to evoke positive vote-getting policies that can produce "This must stop" rather than "This must stop." The Reformers are unique in that they are not trying to please everyone. Preston Manning has captured the attention of the average, English-speaking, cynical taxpayer. He is not trying to be all things to all people. He is not reforming Tories, Grits and socialists into one.

Alan McDonald,
Edmonton, Ont.

I am frustrated and concerned at the current state of Canadian federal politics. When governments begin acting like five-year dictators, something is seriously wrong. The Reform Party of Canada's strength lies in the principle that members of Parliament represent the people's views in Ottawa, instead of

forcing Ottawa's views on the people. Current and future support for the Reform Party will be based not so much on parties, but rather on common sense, respect and, most of all, hope for a better Canada.

Craig Oliver,
Hawthorn

"All Canadians should be treated equally," says Preston Manning. Surely? When anglophones outside Quebec are limited in their right to communicate officially in English and francophones outside Quebec are similarly limited in their right to speak French? The ability to use their mother tongue, English or French, when communicating with public institutions is not some special privilege. It is an inalienable right, an equal right.

Michael McCamus,
Scarborough, Ont.

FOTH'S TIMELY TALES

Thank you for Alan Fotheringham's weekly column. This letter of gratitude is long overdue. The column prompting this letter is "Some fleeting moments of lustre" (Oct. 28). If Fotheringham is one of those liars on the historical list of Canadian names he so easily describes, then I am very glad to be sharing his tale on the Canadian time line.

A. J. Hocking,
Surrey, B.C.

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OPENING NOTES

Cher puts up a flawless front, Bryan Gold takes a run at Chrétien, and Tim Sobey slips through customs

DOUBLE THE PLEASURE

Patricia Mello, the 46-year-old former high-school teacher from Southport, P.E.I., who on Nov. 10 won the provincial TV leadership on one ballot, will have her work cut out for her in her bid to unseat the popular Premier Joseph Robit. But Mello's rivals are better than she. Mello seems to have an unusual campaign advantage. Reporters at the convention in Charlottetown were thrown into confusion when Mello's identical twin sister, Peggy Forbes, turned up at the event. Following Mello's victory, reporters, mistaking Forbes for the new leader, asked Forbes if she was nervous. She just smiled on the TV cameras and replied: "Not in the least. We're enjoying every minute." It was not until later that reporters discovered the error of their wayward microphones. Tory spokesman Maurice Stagenheim acknowledged that the possibilities are intriguing. "It could be helpful if we could have Pat and Peggy campaigning at opposite ends of the island at the same time," he said. Or, considering both sides of an issue.

Forbes (left), Mello campaigning for the twin good



Beauty and the plastic surgeon

Removes Cher's firm, fabulous looks are the result of cosmetic surgery are admitted, says a Los Angeles law firm that represents the 46-year-old actress. John Forbes of Forbes & Roth writes that, while Cher admits to having surgery performed on her breasts and nose, a sculpt has never altered her chin, cheeks, ribs, nose, buttocks or thighs. The letter is accompanied by a signed statement from a London plastic surgeon who says that he performed a "complete body contouring" and reports: "Cher has maintained her excellent figure through regular exercise and discipline with her diet." Forbes says that Cher is warned that her fans may view surgery as a way to eternal youth but there are concerns.

Cher: regular exercise and dietary discipline



SMUGGLING DISASTER

Despite a British court injunction banning distribution of the royal exposé *Counting Disaster*, which chronicles alleged misdeeds among the Queen's household staff, co-author Timothy Sobey admits that, in October, he smuggled copies of the book into England. Sobey said that he took two cases of books with him on a trip to England and sold a customs official that the boxes contained books on the British coast service. *Said Sobey: "I held my breath for a while, but they let them through." Books with a truly brilliant cover.*

Rockin' with Roy on a new station

Roy Boulton's resignation last year as host of CBC TV's *New Alive* landed the veteran journalist as an unexpected line of work. Boulton, 60, offhandedly a newly licensed radio station in the Quinte area of eastern Ontario. The station's owners, London, Ont.-based Trigg Communications Ltd., asked him to start a country music station, but Boulton said that he is instead on rock music. The former anchor plenty of news and current affairs. Boulton, who will also be an announcer, says that he rejects the stereotype "that says that just because a drummer likes rock, he hasn't got a brain in his head."

A WELL-CONNECTED SWAMI

India's new prime minister, Chandra Shekhar, is not a man who takes anything lightly. He chose the precise hour of his inauguration, 11 a.m. on Nov. 10, on the advice of his astrologer. And one of his closest spiritual and political advisers is Sri Ganesha Swami Mahanta, an Indian holy man who, according to a disclosed 1984 CIA memo, was one of the five active Indian Hindu proselytizers in Washington at the time of the election. The Swami, who counts Elizabeth Taylor among his followers, advised Chandra Shekhar on his TV image during last year's election campaign. But when V.P. Singh won, the Swami left the country. Since then, the guru has been living in New York City. Periodically, he visits Toronto to confer with his disciple Walter Rouse (Guru) Miles, also named by a CIA memo as one of Mahanta's lieutenants in the covert arms sales to Iran. In fact, the Swami, who may now play a key role in guiding the world's most populous democracy, once led his Canadian spiritual headquarters in Miller's former Black Hawk Motor Inn in Richmond Hill, north of Toronto, then a favorite watering hole for local motorcycle gangs. Like politics, religion makes for strange bedfellows.



Swami's friends in high places

Shaktian spiritual



LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON, LIKE GRANDSON

As the world prepares for the possible outbreak of war in the Middle East, Canadians may draw some comfort from the fact that the grandson of a man who claims to have shot down the Red Baron, the famed German First World War pilot Baron Manfred von Richthofen, is helping to defend Western interests. The grandson, Donald Matthews, is a 30-year-old fighter pilot stationed with the Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf. His father, Brent Matthews Sr., says that his father, Brent Matthews Sr., who died in 1982, always claimed that it was he, and not Canadian pilot Guy Brown, who ended the Baron's bloody career. Added Matthews Jr.: "He was a bit perturbed that he never got the credit." But Matthews's 90-year-old mother, Elsie, just said bluntly, "These were just my nerves."

On the political fringe

Bryan Gold, a 20-year-old commerce student at Mount Allison University in New Brunswick, is the Kluksun party's answer to Jean Chrétien in the Bar. 16-year-old in the Bontapier riding. Gold says that his platform is "I've lost my job, made of wood and has three legs." He promises to push for a "Triple A Senate—academic, athletic and alcohol-free." As for unemployment, Gold says that, on the Trans-Canada Highway, he would "allow only one-way traffic for a week and then two-way traffic for a week, which would create jobs for people flipping road signs." To cure the economy, Gold proposes abolishing Statistics Canada. "You can't have a problem if you don't have statistics," he said. Regarding his chances against Chrétien, he declared: "The second time I met him, he had a twinge of fear in his eyes. There's no chance I'm going to lose." Not even a statistical possibility.

Gold: campaigning on a solid platform



Power to the prince

Prince Charles is the first member of the Royal Family to become an activist, paying member of a trade union. The



Charles: joining up

author of *A Vision of Britain*, a book depicting royal architecture in England, recently paid £50 (\$114) to join the 3,000-member Society of Authors. And Mark Le Fanu, the society's general secretary: "He may not have much need of our legal and professional services, but his decision obviously indicates his identification with the profession." And with some of the people.

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ANOTHER VIEW



'We elected you, do something'

BY CHARLES GORDON

Yes you'd think, after all these years of talk, after all these elections, federal-provincial conferences, polls, referendums, royal commissions, task forces, special federal committees, special provincial commissions, special editions of newspapers, television panel discussions and Journal documentaries—we would think that more talk in the last thing we need to save our country. You'd think that we'd say to the people who represent us, "We elected you, do something." But more talk is what we are getting.

Out of the dreariness of the March 28 second and other failures of the Mulroney government—not to mention the various provincial governments with which it has had to deal—has come something called the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, also called the Spicer commission, after its chairman, Keith Spicer. This one, because of its chairman's superlativity, may be more fun to watch than some others, but the odds are against its helping much.

The stated aim of all such bodies is to listen to the people. Surveys of the commission even make an attempt to leave Ottawa or Toronto or wherever it is based and go out to the people. But it never works. The people don't come, professional citizens come.

Professional citizens come in several varieties. There are lawyers for special interests; there are representatives of organizations, political or otherwise; and there are plain, old poster-worshipers. Professional citizens have in common the need to talk—either to represent their group or to hear the sound of their own voices. They are the only people not intimidated by the typical royal-commission approach to hearing the public, a process that might be called hotel-hallrooming.

Those who have seen a problem hallroomed are familiar with the language—a person who wants to be heard by the commission finds it a

partitioned-off section of a hotel ballroom; the committee members sit at tables; there are smaller tables for counsel, witnesses and commission members have water carafes and glasses in front of them, plus black microphones with red lights that switch on when the person talking into the microphone has the floor. There is a simultaneous translation booth at the back of the hall, hundreds of chairs for spectators, dozens of chairs for reporters, thousands of live wires and cables for TV. "Make yourself comfortable," the chairman inevitably says. And the formal citizen, who once feels himself offered to as a witness, has never enjoyed a two-hour wait, while previous witnesses overheard their welcome, settles uneasily into a chair and reads his little presentation, only to find himself about to be cross-examined by a lawyer for nonbody.

It is as the season only professional talkers show up. When they do, they read lengthy speeches aloud after which each commission member makes a lengthy speech in reply. The process drags on for months, the public, which has some initial sense of urgency, grows bored. The writing takes years, the report, when it comes out, contains recommendations unpalatable to many people have forgotten. There are

new problems now to study, new hotel ballrooms to compare.

The last thing we need is more hallrooming. Every professional talker has talked until we are blue in the face, Keith Spicer, so his credit, promises that his commission will be different. "We're going to try and be very imaginative and populist in our approach," he told reporters once after his appointment. "We're going to bring out of the woodwork people who have been too timid to appear. Anybody who left excluded before is going to be sought out." Spicer has talked of one-to-one hearings, he has set up a 1-800 telephone number. His first hearings were held in Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T., where, according to news reports, "he sat casually on a table in the community's council chambers as about 20 men and women sat on the floor around him." That was a good start, a long way from the hotel ballroom, but the legacy of decades of hallrooming is hard to shake. Even in Tuktoyaktuk, people were complaining about being left out of the process, a staple of Canadian hotel-hallrooming for as long as it has existed.

We shouldn't pretend, it could get better. People may talk by satellite, dial 1-800 or sit on the floor, and out of all that may come a brilliant idea for solving Canada's problems, but after that, somebody will have to implement that solution. There will have to be legislation, hearings on the legislation, federal-provincial conferences, and all that. In other words, the politicians have to get into the act.

Is that last? Many people think so. Pandita asserts that voters are a positive crowd, ready to take out their frustration on any elected official foolish enough to run for re-election. Keith Spicer apparently thinks so, too. More of the 13 other citizens who will join him on the citizens' forum are active federal politicians. Published reports say that this was at Spicer's insistence.

Yet when you think about it, the problem may be the opposite: our failure to solve our problems may be because activities in Parliament should have been doing and are, in fact, best equipped to do. In their quest to be elected and re-elected, politicians must listen to the people. If they fail to listen, if they allow themselves to grow out of touch, they lose.

Legislators, provincial or federal, don't need hotel ballrooms and black microphones with little red lights. They meet the people one-on-one, at town meetings, constituency meetings, service-club functions and on the sidewalk. Of people, politicians should know what the people are thinking.

Yet politicians, and particularly federal members of Parliament, have been rigid out of the prisons at recent years. The federal-provincial conference has gained importance; there have been high-profile commissions and consultations such as Spicer's. What we have gained, it appears, is a new apocalypticism in polling techniques, a growing word of intergovernmental bureaucracies and a large procession of professional talkers. The problems remain. More time has to be spent on the professional talkers and let the politicians do the job we elected them to do.

Charles Gordon was involved with The Citizens' Forum.



CANADA

THE LESSONS OF POWER

The manner of the decision, as much as its outcome, reflected the piecemeal approach that New Democrat Premier Bob Rae has brought to his right-wing-led Ontario government. The issue, whether his new administration would honor a commitment by the previous Liberal cabinet to contribute provincially owned land and \$55 million in cash towards the construction of a bullet-riddled house in downtown Toronto. For four weeks, the center absorbed the energies of three provincial elections, seven or more civil servants and the present. The move ran a gauntlet of two full-house cabinet meetings—one of which lasted 12 hours—and lengthy debates among the eight key ministers who sit on the cabinet's policy and priorities board. Finally, on Nov. 8, the new ministers made up their minds: the government would

ONTARIO'S NEW DEMOCRATS FACE THE DEMANDS OF MAKING THE HARD CHOICES WHEN TIMES ARE TOUGH

donate the land but withhold the cash, arguing that the money was better spent addressing the needs of the homeless and hungry. Strikingly, Rae had argued strongly in favor of the

Rae in the Premier's office; bullet-riddled house model (clockwise) painstaking

project, but bowed to the cabinet consensus. That conclusion surprised some observers. Said Gordon Flood, president of Public Affairs Management and a consultant who speaks at Ontario government affairs: "Rae wanted the bullet-riddled house, but he wasn't prepared to run over his cabinet colleagues."

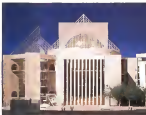
To one senior bureaucratic leader with both the new and the Liberal governments, the president was astute. He told *Maclean's*: "Rae is not a prime donor. He is a politician. This is a democratic government." The premier himself, who said he was "very happy with what happened," described the process in different terms, calling it one of "collective" decision-making—in keeping with his party's social democratic prong.

By whatever description, however, the move was plainly one of extreme caution as Ontario's New Democrats put the housing issue on a three-step schedule for delivery at this week's opening of the provincial legislature. In a series of extensive meetings and 14-hour days, senior cabinet members struggled to reconcile ambitious campaign commitments with a recession-depleted treasury and the complex reality of running the country's second-largest government. And despite Rae's apparent willingness to lead his

own dreams to those of his cabinet colleagues, many observers insist that the Ontario premier had moved quickly to contribute his government's decision-making on important issues so that he can monitor developments most closely. Said Floyd: "He's set things up strategically to make it certain that the cabinet office will be directing all the major policy decisions."

For one thing, Financial Institutions Minister Peter Kormos, who also holds the consumer affairs portfolio, is normally in charge of overseeing the introduction of public aid in assistance for Ontario's six million dollars, a key new campaign promise. Rae, in fact, the task of working out the details has been assigned to civil servants working under the direction of Andrew Steune, secretary to the most cabinet—and not those in Kormos's ministry. That assignment reflected Rae's determination to oversee everything involving his cabinet ministers. Declined the premier in an interview with *Maclean's*: "We're not into playing games between ministers. We don't have little empires. We have a cabinet that speaks for the whole government."

At the same time, some ministers have been forced to scale down their ambitious plans because of the depleted provincial treasury. Realignment Minister Rob Gurnee, for one, was directed to find only five civil servants working on the Liberals' clearest program when she assumed her post. As an opinion critic, she had lambasted the Liberals for dragging their feet on the anti-politician measure after promising tougher regulations in 1987. But after relieving her staff to hasten their preparations in the legislature, she concluded that the only way to cut a restructuring program from other programs "is to cut it off to lose people."



ple from those programs either," a chastened Gurnee told *Maclean's* last week. "We're looking for more projects."

Grier, a dismissed 54-year-old Public Service and member of three, has also discovered that some of her ideas needed fine tuning. While in opposition, she attributed a private minister's bill that she described as an environmental bill to the Liberals' left support and then abandoned. Among its

proposed provisions, that the environmental ministry hold public hearings before approving for any project. Unbeknownst to Grier was the fact that, in addition to licensing large developments, the ministry also issues permits for every aspect built into the province. Anticipating that she would now contribute the bill, she talked with the government's lawyers. Grier's deputy minister recommended that she exempt small stores from the requirement. Said Grier: "When I was in opposition, the civil service wouldn't want to share information because I could often use it to hurt their ministry. Now, it's different."

In other instances, the NDP has forced the bureaucracy to lead. During his second week as a cabinet minister, Kormos, a flamboyant 38-year-old bartender who likes that he purchased his green 1980 Corvette because of its environmentally friendly color, received from his staff a draft of a consumer protection bill developed under the Liberals' Stirlington week in his fourth floor office, where he has a framed poster of president John F. Kennedy. Kormos recalled the reaction: "I read it, I thought about it. And I said, 'It's good, but it's not in our best interests. We can do better.'" He then instructed ministry experts to rewrite the bill, and to insert clauses requiring businesses to provide retail contracts and warranties in plain, everyday language. Said Kormos: "It's a time consumer gets the protection they deserve."

While some new ministers have won the early confidence of the bureaucracy, others have been privately rebuffed by ignoring expert advice. When Housing Minister David Cooke assumed his post, ministry officials told him that some of the city's promises to improve the province's rent review system were unrealistic. Cooke had made plain his desire to make it more difficult for landlords to raise rents to recover the cost of renovations or such expenses as higher utility rates—something that is allowed under the current system. Ministry experts told Cooke that such a plan would discourage developers from building new rental accommodations and dissuade landlords from improving existing apartments. In one official's words, Cooke responded: "I don't care. Do it anyway." And he instructed his staff to draft new guidelines restricting rent increases.

As for Toronto's proposed ballot-box issue, supporters said last week that they may be able to keep the project alive. One way using an estimated \$60-million in potential revenue from development rights to the land—which the province also donated, but with his intent to provide hard cash. Rae's cabinet is still not considering the actual construction. It was only the first of what is certain to prove to be a long list of difficult choices that Rae must make in guiding his new government towards an elusive consensus.

PHIL KATZ

SOUR NOTES

Some members of the 27-member commission on Quebec's future who are convening in Montreal this week are expected to be notified at Montreal's Julez Julez Julez when the federal government, pending agreements and federalists turned last week's Montreal session into a forum for future and would speak that co-chairman Michel (Bibi) and Jean Côté on a no-establish order.

AN APOLOGY, MAYBE

Meeting with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Edmonton, Prime Minister Jean Mulroney agreed to consider issuing a formal statement of apology for Canada's imprisonment of about 5,000 Ukrainian-Canadians during the First World War.

BLOODY PROTEST

Ottawa police charged 139 Labrador Inuit and non-native supporters with mischief after they tried to block entrance to the National Defence headquarters and three human blood-collected from volunteers for the military. The protesters were demanding an end to low-level military flights over Labrador that Inuit representatives say frighten wildlife.

MORSEMEYER VS. CITY HALL

City council in St. John's voted to revoke the zoning permit for Newfoundland's first private shopping center only hours after Dr. Henry Morgenthau officially opened the facility. Councilors stated that they did not know the purpose of the clinic, before they granted the permit. Morgenthau said the clinic would remain open and that he would challenge the council's decision in the courts.

A LANDMARK AIDS CASE

The Supreme Court of Appeal upheld an earlier decision by the Canadian Human Rights Commission that it find a racial-ethnic discrimination when it fired a black-owned cook, Gidon Postema, 23, because he carried the AIDS virus. The case was the first AIDS-related discrimination ruling by the commission.

CONTROVERSIAL CONTRACT

Mark Abbott, director general of the Ontario Science Centre, resigned after the Ontario government signed a controversial contract with the government of Ottawa that called for a boycott of Israeli products and companies. Abbott stepped down in the wake of the chairman of the center's board of trustees, George Colton, who said that he signed a "serious error in judgment."



CANADA

Black and blue all over

Ottawa's struggle to produce a Green Plan

For a government greeted at the bottom of the polls and under fire, it was intended as a positive announcement that would launch a political comeback. Over the past several months, advisers to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney have suggested that a new federal initiative on the environment could help to reverse the party's declining fortunes in the wake of such unpopular programs as the proposed Goods and Service Tax (GST). The comeback, they privately assured both critics and party activists, would be driven by social reforms that would put a kinder spinner over the prevalent anger of Conservative doubters. And the first step on the road to recovery was a comprehensive program to arrest the declining state of the Canadian environment—a "Green Plan," as Tory strategists named it, for as soon as they jettisoned this piece as a top priority among Canadian voters.

The conditions on the branch of the Tory recovery initiative as new will under way, but plans are already threatening to go awry. Environment Minister Robert de Cotret has pledged to reveal the contents of his long-awaited Green Plan by the end of this month. The document, a product of extensive public

consultation and fierce internal battles within the government itself, will provide a detailed description of the Tories' environmental policy for the next five years—and of the amount of money the government is willing to spend to pay for it. But even before its official unveiling, environmentalists have attacked leaked details of the plan as diluted from a much stronger set of reforms that the federal cabinet rejected last winter. As well, the Tory plan will come at a time when deepening recession has deepened the cynicism of both industry and consumers for expensive environmental action.

But perhaps the most damaging blow to Conservative hopes for de Cotret's Green Plan came last week. Already indicted as an increasingly bitter confrontation with the provinces about Ottawa's jurisdiction over the environment, de Cotret lost a critical battle when a Saskatchewan judge threw out a federal application for an injunction to halt work on the \$145-million Rafferty-Alameda dam project.

Indeed, last week's decision by the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench in Regina amounted to a startling slap in the face of de Cotret's authority. Federal officials first sought the injunction last month, after the five mem-

Saskatchewan recycling dispute fears that Ottawa's Green Plan has been diluted

bers of an environmental assessment panel operating under federal law quit their posts on Oct. 11. The protesters claimed that Saskatchewan had defied federal legislation by permitting construction work to resume before their environmental review was complete. Last week, however, Saskatchewan Chief Justice Donald MacPherson dismissed the federal application. Although MacPherson did not question Ottawa's right to intervene in the dam's construction, he described the federal environmental review process as "badly flawed." For his part, de Cotret promptly declared his intent to appeal the ruling.

The court did not rule on another controversial element in the case that could have been even more damaging to de Cotret's reputation. That question centred on whether de Cotret, as Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine has alleged, secretly agreed last September at a private meeting in Ottawa to allow the Rafferty project to go ahead. De Cotret has denied Devine's allegations about the discussion, held in the presence of several officials. MacPherson's judgment sidestepped the question of whose account was truthful. Still, the Rafferty controversy, said David Bessells, an environmental analyst at the Ottawa-based Institute for Research on Public Policy, "has affected de Cotret's credibility with experienced environmental groups very badly. The only thing that can rescue that is a strong, proactive Green Plan."

That goal may now be difficult to achieve. De



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Côté himself has observed that "you cannot clean up the environment just with motherhood statements. You have got to back up your promises with results." But he also told *Maclean's* that "money is not easy to come by these days in government." In fact, partly because of the chill in the economic climate, the minister acknowledged that he has had difficulty getting cabinet approval for the close to \$2 billion that department officials estimate the Green Plan will cost during its five-year span.

The plan itself has been delayed, delayed and amended for more than a year. In its original concept during the tenure of de Coté's predecessor, Lucien Bouchard, the plan was supposed to contain concrete measures to combat a host of environmental problems, from global warming and toxic wastes to poor water quality. In doing so, it proposed to amend the influence of the federal environment department into other areas of government.

But these ambitious goals quickly ran into political difficulties. First, cabinet colleagues blocked Bouchard's requests for early and generous funding. Then, Bouchard's early cabinet over the March-Late accord. As he hastily named successor, de Coté was obliged to split his time between the environment portfolio and his other job as Treasury Board president. Then, when de Coté succeeded the Treasury Board portfolio in September, he became, in the words of one environment department official, "just another minister begging for money in Ottawa."

As a result, concern for the likely cost of some of the plan's most idealistic proposals has resulted in a substantially more modest menu of environmental measures. Said another senior environment official: "The optimism we felt at first was replaced by pragmatism as the

reality of economics set in. There are policies on the cutting-room floor."

Many environmental activists share that pessimism. Although those who have seen as



De Coté: a clear judicial ruling

office of the plan note that it will address such issues as global warming, critics charge that it does not go far enough in addressing several other crucial issues. Among them proposals to impose a tax on the use of carbon-based fossil fuels, which contributes to global climatic change. The failure to include such a tax in the

plan would seriously undermine Canada's international campaign for stiffer controls on emissions that cause global warming.

Indeed, the Green Plan is expected to focus on other areas, such as public education. But that push could bring Ottawa into conflict with the provinces, which control education. Several provinces—including Quebec and Alberta, as well as Saskatchewan—are already vigorously meeting Ottawa's attempts to enforce its environmental policies. Said one senior provincial environment official: "There is no easy way to split the jurisdiction over environmental issues, and the Green Plan will be a federal-provincial problem for the next several years."

Against these lengthening political odds, de Coté is expected to spend close to \$12 million on a public relations blitz promoting the Green Plan's merits. That approach will be used largely on party politics, which show that although the economy is now Canadian's main concern, the environment remains a priority. But tough times—and voter cynicism—may yet frustrate the government's hope of rebuilding its popularity on a foundation of environmental action. Roy Adén, executive vice-president of Toronto-based Iron Ltd. and a member of the National Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy, for one, noted: "People still think there is a nice, easy answer to solve environmental problems at no cost that we will all have to pay for it, and that is not a politically popular message." It is a message that de Coté and his fellow Tories will hear frequently as they face the complex and costly considerations of cleaning up the environment.

BRUCE WALLACE with E. KATE FULTON and RANCE BROWN in Ottawa

FACING THE GST MUSIC

During nearly all of his travelling this fall, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has been studied by and has dismissed hordes of people promoting the government's delayed Goods and Services Tax. Last week, about 200 demonstrators, singing, belting and chanting "Stop the GST," greeted him outside a downtown Edmonton hotel as he four-day swing through Alberta. But it was virtually clear to Mulroney and his advisers that the GST is deeply unpopular, especially in Alberta, where federal Tory fortunes are at rock bottom. But the GST's toughest hurdles are still to be cleared: 2,500 tax cuts in Edmonton—to the oil-patchified Senate chamber in Ottawa.

Since Oct. 19, a gloomy peace has descended on that chamber after weeks of disruption. Then, the Liberal and Conservative senators agreed to set a timetable for dealing with the GST—with the Liberals meaning the right to propose eight amend-

ments. With that, the TV crews that had camped last month's round-the-clock Liberal filibuster against the tax packed up and left. But, although Tory senators have in fact cleared six amendments and are expected to clear the first two others this week, the GST's passage through the upper chamber remains a rocky and nerve-racking exercise for the Tories.

For one thing, the votes have been close, with the government winning by margins as tight as five votes. Said one senior Tory senator: "I am worried about amendments. This is Canada and in November, Pious can be deployed and people can turn votes."

As well, Reform Party Senator Stanley Waters and Independent Senator Edmund Leveson have vowed to introduce amendments. And in those proposals, all senators could speak without time limits.

Clearly, the Tories cannot allow that to happen if the GST legislation is to be passed in time for the scheduled Jan. 1 implementation of

the tax. Unless Waters and Leveson agree to limit debate on their motions, the Tories may attempt to use procedural tactics to ignore them and force the debate on the bill directly to third- and final readings. And so far, Waters, at least, is not negotiating. Declined the minister: "The only discussions I have had are with the Liberals on how they can help me be heard." The Liberals, meanwhile, have vowed to ensure their filibuster and use other tactics to delay the final rat vote when the GST is introduced with the expected defeat of their tight amendments. In fact, Liberal strategists claim that they can keep debating the bill until at least end-December, undermining the GST's anti-inflationary



Mulroney down to the wire

BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa with JOAN NORTON in Edmonton

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An uncertain Christmas

The Forces prepare to change the guard

A string of trailers loaded with 500-lb. Mark-82 bombs sealed out to the fringe of the runway at Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alta. Graduatedly, they were being driven to the CP-180 airbase jets. Then, the aircraft roared off over the snow-dappled northern Alberta bush, leaving behind the sickly sweet smell of jet exhaust. Last week's armed bombing runs were part of the countdown for the departure at the end of the month of a 150-member contingent from 416 Squadron. Their destination: Enns, Germany, and then the Persian Gulf for a minimum three-month tour of duty. In the Gulf, pilots and support personnel from Cold Lake will rotate with members of 409 Squadron—based in Germany—who have been flying air cover for desert Canadian warships taking part in the unseasoned embargo against Iraq since early October. And according to its commanding officer, the relief squadron is eager to put its training to the test. Declared Lt. Col. Ronald Gaudreau, 37: "The bottom line is that this is what we have trained for."

But in the days ahead, the challenge facing 416 Squadron is likely to increase. The threat of war has long over the troubled Gulf region since Iraq President Saddam Hussein's Aug. 3 annexation of Kuwait, intensifying recently with the escalation of warfare between Iraq and Kuwait and those already engaged in Iraq (page 26). For the lightly led, 5,000-member military community at Cold Lake, 416 Squadron's impending departure only weeks before Christmas has produced a turbulent mix of emotions. "We are all excited to go," said pilot Capt. Marcus Whitson, 35, a native of North Bay, Ont. "I don't know why—a lot better than we're in."

For many members of 416, there has been little time to feel any apprehension because of the intense training exercises, dual language and maintenance checks. As many as 12 of 416's CP-180s will also make the trip from Cold Lake to Germany. Then they will rotate with German-based CP-180s already in service at "Canada Day," as the military has nicknamed its desert airbase in the Arabian peninsula kingdom of Qatar, 570 km south of Iraq-occupied Kuwait.

But with Christmas decorations already brightening many Cold Lake homes, the assignment is slowly tinged with melancholy. It is time to help buffer the soldiers' separation from families and personal belongings. In Enns, the military is trying to ensure that, during Christmas, the families are able to visit relatives elsewhere. These administrations are also attempting to match those who will remain at Cold Lake with other military families. As well, other morale boosters are planned, such

as daily presentations showing 416 Squadron's activities in the Gulf, airport dances and the recording of video portraits to absent friends or relatives.

But other concerns have also clouded 416's departure—among them the armed forces' strained budget. Earlier this month, defence department spokesmen acknowledged that the army's involvement in last summer's Mohawk

for Halloween. (As well, Mackenzie has been distributing about 150 cars a week to the Canadian vessels helping to enforce the embargo against Iraq.) But the outpouring of support has also included offers that the army has been forced to turn down. One D.C. company wanted to supply 90,000 bottles of spring water—which would have cost \$12,000 to ship. An Ottawa firm offered 1,000 uncoated beaver tails, a local delicacy of deep-fried poultry that would not have survived the trip to Qatar. And one well-intentioned Calgary firm wanted to provide 1,500 lbs. of frozen yogurt—equally difficult to ship 7,000 miles to a region where currently the daytime temperatures are as high as 25°C.

That soaring climate was also a topic of conversation among the members of 416 last



Warriors ready for service in the Persian Gulf—in spite of apprehension

week in the Cold Lake base pilots' rooms. Gaudreau removed a fishing hook and line from his survival pack. "I won't need that," he said. "Maybe add some sun block—and thank you!" Others, such as Cpl. Linda Karpel, a 28-year-old technician, worried about the looming culture shock. "I better learn some women as a lower form of life," she told Mackenzie. For most members of Canada's second air contingent to travel to the Gulf, though, greater uncertainties lie ahead. Noted Karpel: "I made a new will—and bought a new insurance policy." It was a quiet reminder that, as the volatile Persian Gulf, Canada's military personnel could quickly find their Christmas celebration eclipsed by war.

JOHN BOWSE is Cold Lake's

E. ARTHUR PULTON in Ottawa

Power plays in Quebec

Cabinet rivals battle over James Bay II

It is the most ambitious North American energy undertaking of the decade, or so Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa says, "in the century." But accordingly, the Quebec government plans to look at additional sites of northern wilderness the size of Lake Erie, in order to generate electricity for export to the United States, is becoming a flash point for conflict over public policy, private advancement and even national vision. At stake, Bourassa's chairman Richard Desrosiers last week, is \$4.4 billion in potential profits from the proposed expansion of Quebec's existing James Bay hydro development. Bourassa insists that the project be the centerpiece of his economic strategy for the province. But the scale of the vast construction job in the remote northern hinterland of Quebec has alarmed natives and environmentalists. And critics of the project have found a ready ally in Pierre Paré,



Construction of James Bay powerhouse, 'project of the century'

Bourassa's ambitious economic minister.

For Paré, the issue is simple. Declared the 40-year-old son of the southern Quebec riding of Rimouski-Bourassa: "Everybody knows that Mr. Bourassa's project is James

Bay II. But we have to look at the environmental angle." To that end, Paré has called for a sweeping anti-federal provincial environmental review of the \$600-million project. Indeed, he has said that if the proposal to build three rivers and hydroelectric stations on the Great White River north of the existing James Bay power facilities by 1998 fails to pass environmental tests it could be scrapped. Paré's stand has placed him at odds with Quebec Energy Minister Luc Bouchard—Bourassa's deputy premier and closest cabinet confidante to the power project.

Bouchard has insisted that the development be subjected to a rigorous series of reviews under construction proceeds. And he has rejected any federal involvement in the review as an unacceptable interference into Quebec's "strategic" affairs. How the debate between the two ministers ends is likely to determine not only the future of vast tracts of Quebec, but also the personal career prospects of both Bouchard and Paré—who was Bourassa's closest ally in the premier's successful 1984 campaign for the Quebec Liberal party.

The open clash between the two cabinet colleagues serves at a time when opposition is mounting to the second phase of the project. On Oct. 25, the Grand Council of the Crees,

CONCERNS ABOUT ROBERT BOURASSA

The prime debate over the scale of Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's hydro begins "what is the impact of the night last September at the height of the Mohawk

week. It was declared at the time that the 40-year-old premier had quickly slipped into the United States to have a diagnosed cancer removed from his lower back during a two-hour operation at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md., one of the world's leading institutes for cancer research and treatment. Despite Bourassa's repeated denial that his skin cancer would affect his capacity to govern, the rumors persisted about its seriousness—all speculation needed about potential successors to his leadership. Those rumors surfaced last week, when the premier returned to the attention of his cabinet ministers for additional news and reports that he is suffering from malignant melanoma—the most serious and deadly form of skin cancer. Indeed, doctors at the institute confirmed that diag-

nosis at week's end, but said that there was now no sign of the disease.

In a news release, the premier announced that Dr. Steven Kiebert said that the premier is enjoying monthly tests exploring surgery on his 13 and should be able to re-enter his current activity within a few weeks. Last week's procedure severed the removal of lymph nodes from the groin. Said the spokesman: "There is no evidence of melanoma at any location and all X-rays, including those of the head, chest and abdomen, are completely normal."

Bourassa's press secretary said that the premier was at the cancer institute for routine post-surgical testing. "It was only this week, it is hardly his normal work last week," says Gaudreau. Bourassa's press secretary said that the premier was at the cancer institute for routine post-surgical testing. "It was only this week, it is hardly his normal work last week," says Gaudreau. Bourassa's press secretary said that the premier was at the cancer institute for routine post-surgical testing. "It was only this week, it is hardly his normal work last week," says Gaudreau.



Bourassa's cancer scare

The latest flurry of reports about Bourassa's health began last week when the Montreal Gazette, quoting an anonymous medical source,

reported that the cancer removed from Bourassa's back on Sept. 12 may have been more serious than earlier reports indicated. For his part, Bourassa has steadfastly refused to clarify the nature of his cancer—specifying only that he saw it in his back, his normal work last week, says Gaudreau.

Bourassa's press secretary said that the premier was at the cancer institute for routine post-surgical testing. "It was only this week, it is hardly his normal work last week," says Gaudreau. Bourassa's press secretary said that the premier was at the cancer institute for routine post-surgical testing. "It was only this week, it is hardly his normal work last week," says Gaudreau.

period follow-up, which we will keep abreast of. Last week, that prognosis appeared unchanged.

BARRY CAIRN in Montreal

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CANADA

representing about 7,000 Indians who live near the site of the proposed dam, protest with several environmental groups seeking a permanent injunction against the project from the Quebec Superior Court. The Cree argue that the flooding and water diversion required to expand the hydroelectric development will destroy up to 60 per cent of the Indian traplines in the area. Declared Red Pictou, a Cree spokesman from Chisasibi, Que. "The ecosystem is extremely fragile there. A project of this nature will devastate it."

At the same time, a recent ruling by the Ottawa-based National Energy Board could also delay the expansion plans. On Sept. 26, the first issued decision allowing Hydro-Quebec to export additional power. They power, worth a total of \$32.7 billion to the United States over the next 30 years. But, in a condition of those permits, the NEB also required Hydro-Quebec to conduct "appropriate environmental assessment" of any new construction that results in hydroelectric power. Declared Red Pictou, a Cree spokesman from Chisasibi, Que. "The ecosystem is extremely fragile there. A project of this nature will devastate it."

Despite the magnitude of the proposed project, the Cree's defense has centered largely on a planned 600-km access road to the Great Whale site. For his part, Pardo has argued his cabinet colleagues to ratify an agreement that he reached in June with the Indian consortium, Robert de Groot. Under that accord, both governments would include the road with the rest of the development in a joint environmental review. The agreement sidestepped differences between Quebec and the federal government over which his administration over the environment—possibly conflicting with a constitutional commitment. But the Quebec cabinet has generally failed so far to satisfy Pardo's argument. Thus, meanwhile, his cabinet's work on the road must begin by January—well on schedule as environmental review—in order for the project to meet its 1991 target date for completion.

At the same time, political analysts in Quebec say that the issue has become a means for two rival political parties to improve their jobs. Speaking for the province, Pardo may not seek to justify the project but work when he returned to a close in May/June for tests following a court ruling in September. In fact, with his first defense of Pardo's hydro-based strategy for the Quebec economy, is clearly poised to support his successor's mandate. But Pardo's move to stand before parliament against the Quebec's growing environmental movement. Their strategy may eventually determine whether most of the northeastern United States plays into Quebec power for decades to come. Meanwhile, it is providing an alternative glimpse into the competing solutions of at least two of Quebec's world-class governments.

DAN BERGE is Montreal and
GREG G. TAYLOR is Toronto

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IMMINENT THUNDER

BUSH STRUGGLES TO EXPLAIN WHY U.S. TROOPS MAY HAVE TO FIGHT—AND DIE—TO STOP SADDAM HUSSEIN

Since Aug. 3, when President George Bush began sending troops to the Persian Gulf, he and other administration officials have put forward a variety of reasons for the intervention. They said that it was intended to free Kuwait from Iraqi occupation, to defend Saudi Arabia and to maintain oil supplies. As well, they have claimed that their aim was to preserve the American way of life and to neutralize Iraq's nuclear weapons potential. Last week, Secretary of State James Baker declared another motive: to prevent widespread unemployment in Iraq should a struggle ensue as oil resources shut down. "If you want to run it up as one word, it's jobs," he said. But skeptical members of Congress insisted that Bush should provide a more convincing reason before committing U.S. forces to battle. And before leaving Washington to spend Thanksgiving Day with U.S. troops in the Gulf, Bush conceded that he had not spelled out his motives clearly enough. In a television interview last Thursday, the President said, "I've got to do better so that you, because I know in my heart of hearts that what we are doing is right."

Nearly a month later, after appearing on U.S. TV, Iraq President Saddam Hussein clearly sought to heighten the American public's uncertainty by portraying himself as a peace-maker. In an interview in Baghdad with *ABC News*, the Iraqi leader said that he was ready for negotiations with the United States, although he rejected retreat from Kuwait as a pre-condition. He added that he could release the more than 150 American citizens that he is holding hostage in Washington "in exchange to think about alternatives to war."

There seemed little doubt that the increasing prospects of war had undercut Bush's popular support at home. A poll published in the national daily *Post* Friday on Nov. 13 showed



that approval for his handling of the crisis had fallen to 55 per cent from 68 per cent on Aug. 20, more than two weeks after the Iraqi invasion. The latest poll was taken after Bush's Nov. 8 announcement of massive reinforcements for the U.S. contingent. That announcement "made people up with a start," said Stephen Feltus, a senior fellow at Washington's American Enterprise Institute. Added Feltus: "It was like a bucket of ice water."

The decision to send another 150,000 troops to the Gulf will bring the total of U.S. land, sea and air forces in the region to nearly 400,000. The White House has also committed 1,200 extra tanks, three more second-echelon battle groups, one more battleship and an undetermined number of attack planes. But so far, Washington has not asked Canada to increase its current commitment of three warships, six squadron *SCORPION* submarines and 1,700 personnel. Still, after meeting briefly in Bermuda last week, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark did not rule out an expanded Canadian role. Earlier, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had said that Ottawa would increase funding to its present contingent in the Gulf region, now totaling 50 military and 800 civilian personnel. Later, Mulroney added that the government would pay for the unspecified increase by cutting existing government programs, although he did not say which ones.

Mulroney also met in Bermuda with senior members of Canadian leadership in Iraq and Kuwait, but he refused to send an official delegation to Baghdad to ask their release. The Prime Minister said that he will not negotiate with hostage-takers and that he does not want to encourage Hussein the impression that there are divisions in Iraq and Kuwait, but he refused to send an official delegation to Baghdad to ask their release. The Prime Minister said that he will not negotiate with hostage-takers and that he does not want to encourage Hussein the impression that there are divisions in Iraq and Kuwait, but he refused to send an official delegation to Baghdad to ask their release. The Prime Minister said that he will not negotiate with hostage-takers and that he does not want to encourage Hussein the impression that there are divisions in Iraq and Kuwait, but he refused to send an official delegation to Baghdad to ask their release.

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Like Mulroney, Bush expressed concern about an appearance of disunity. At the White House, a delegation of congressional leaders told him that the constitution guarantees the exclusive right to declare war. But a Pledge of Allegiance ceremony at his jacket pocket, Bush replied, "It also says that I'm the commander-in-chief." From another sheet of papers, the President began reading translations of Baghdad newspaper reports that apparently read: "Saddam Hussein said that the prospect of war loomed larger, the President was still anxious to explain why he may have to order forces to fight—and die—in order to stop Saddam Hussein."

For his part, Bush assured the congressmen that he had made no decision to use force. "We have not crossed any Rubicon or point of no return," he said and stressed that he would consult before taking any military action, but stopped short of agreeing to their request for a special session of Congress, which is in recess until January. Instead, the Senate's armed services and foreign relations committees will hold separate hearings during December.

Meanwhile, in the Gulf itself, the Americans staged a huge amphibious exercise, named Operation Inherent Thunder, on the east coast of Saudi Arabia. It involved 1,000 U.S. marines, 35 warships and 1,180 warplanes. South coalition personnel also took part in the operations, which was scheduled to last for six days. U.S. military authorities would not permit disclosure of its location, but earlier reports had placed the exercise about 16 km from the Saudi-Kuwait border, within sight and sound of Iraqi troops during December.

Meanwhile, in the Gulf itself, the Americans staged a huge amphibious exercise, named Operation Inherent Thunder, on the east coast of Saudi Arabia. It involved 1,000 U.S. marines, 35 warships and 1,180 warplanes. South coalition personnel also took part in the operations, which was scheduled to last for six days. U.S. military authorities would not permit disclosure of its location, but earlier reports had placed the exercise about 16 km from the Saudi-Kuwait border, within sight and sound of Iraqi troops during December. It was that close, still, an official Iraqi spokesman denounced the exercise as "a clear provocation."

As the crack battle raged, a senior Soviet official issued the latest as a series of news items. According to the official, Moscow's long-time ally, declaring that the crisis had reached "a very dangerous stage." Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Pavlovsky urged Hussein to comply with Security Council resolutions and leave Kuwait. Additionally, he urged Iraq to stop its military operations, which were in violation of the UN Security Council's demand that Iraq stop its military operations. He also urged Iraq to stop its military operations, which were in violation of the UN Security Council's demand that Iraq stop its military operations.

Hussein had earlier called for an Arab summit to seek a compromise with Iraq's deputy prime minister, Ishaq Hassan. He said that Hussein would attend only if the Arab League requested the involvement of "the nine Muslim Gulf states." Those resolutions, approved in August by 12 of the 21 members of the league, demanded Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. Last Thursday, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Hafez Assad of Syria both with contingents in the multinational force, denounced Hussein's provocations. That reinforced the impression that Bush's alliance with Gulf leaders was the prospect of war loomed larger, the President was still anxious to explain why he may have to order forces to fight—and die—in order to stop Saddam Hussein.

JOHN ROBERTSON with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington and correspondents' reports.

World Notes

CUTTING COLD WAR ARMS

NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators agreed in principle to a conventional arms treaty drastically slashing their Cold War armaments of non-nuclear weapons. The accord, which would limit each alliance to 20,000 tanks, 30,000 other armored combat vehicles, 30,000 artillery pieces, 6,000 combat aircraft and 3,000 attack helicopters, was to be signed on Nov. 19 in Paris. NATO now has a total of 68,333 of the vehicles and the Warsaw Pact has 128,856.

CANADIAN KILLS IN CHINA

A friendly baseball game pitting Americans and Canadians against opponents from the University of Chile in Santiago ended in tragedy when a bomb hidden in a baseball hit exploded, killing a Canadian homesickness, Santiago police said that his exporting company executive James Thomas died, mortally when he had exploded in the Canadian team's dugout. Two Canadian Embassy employees were among several people injured. Players and that since U.S. airlines had been due to play but did not turn up for the game.

A GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told an emergency parliamentary session that he would overhaul his government and the military's senior command, and then helped out at critics who he said were undermining the country's ability to resolve its economic crisis. But he said, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, called on Gorbachev to replace the entire government with "an extraordinary anti-crisis committee" that would include leaders of republican governments.

ANGRY FRENCH DEMONSTRATE

Across France, trade unions protested the Socialist government's plan to keep its industrial 1.55-cent tax to finance social welfare, and there might soon be a strike, a no-confidence motion in parliament.

A GUATEMALAN SNOWY

In the Nov. 13 presidential election, moderate Jorge Carpio Nicolsi edged in a tight-wing civil, Jorge Antonio Serrano, by one percentage point. But because rather was more than 50 per cent of the vote, there will be a runoff on Jan. 6.

JAPAN'S NEW EMPEROR

As radical efforts in Tokyo set firm and dethroned emperors in attempts to disrupt the lavish ritual, envoys from more than 150 countries attended the enthronement of Emperor Akihito.

THE UNITED STATES

A question of ethics

The S&L scandal reaches the Senate

By search the upcoming month back with the Senate's stark hearing room 8-1225, seated with the Great Seal of the United States, news of television lights and the proceedings a theatrical air. In front of them, a platoon of photographers crunched, their shutters clattering, to capture a drama unprecedented in the 201-year history of the Senate's public hearing into whether:

See of the nation's most powerful congressmen unapologetically tried to prevent federal regulators from pursuing one of their major campaign contributors, inflated California savings and loan system Charles Keating. As Democratic Senator Russell Fein, who leads the bipartisan Senate select committee on ethics, bluntly put it, "Senators, many of our fellow citizens apparently believe that your services were bought by Charles Keating, that you were bribed, that you sold your office, that you traded your honor and your good names for contribution and other benefits."

On that harsh opening note, it quickly became clear that more was at stake in the tense, hostile hearings than the political careers of the so-called Keating Five. Democratic senators Alton S. Cranston of California, Dennis DeConcini of Arizona, John Glenn of Ohio and Donald Riegle of Michigan, as well as Republican John McCain of Arizona also on trial were the justice and integrity of the American political system itself—the complex relationship between the millions of dollars required for increasingly costly congressional campaigns, and how much influence these contributions can wield over the nation's business. That question appeared all the more urgent coming little more than a week after another election, which revealed a mounting loss of public cynicism about the political process. In fact, as the committee's special counsel, Robert Bennett, told the panel, the case signified a "warning warning that unless these trends are recognized and dealt with, the reputation of this body and its members will be in utter ruin."

The hearings represented the latest political

tuff in what economists term the greatest financial scandal in U.S. history, one which cost taxpayers as much as \$581 billion. The bailout of Keating's Lincoln Savings and Loan in Irvine, Calif., will alone run to \$3.9 billion. The scandal has even troubled the doorstep of the White House. In fact, last week Washington's Office of Thrift Supervision received in-



Senate hearings: the essence and integrity of the American political system is on trial

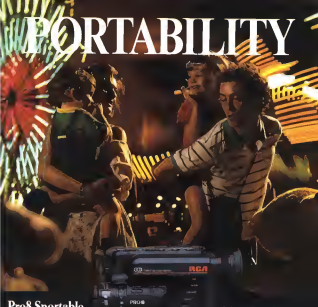
conflict-of-interest allegations against the President's son Neil Bush for "assault or assault" practices in authorizing loans to business partners in his role as a director of California's Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan Association, which failed in December, 1988.

In his opening statement last week, Bennett appeared to moderate two of the Senate's lieutenants: former astronaut Glenn and decorated Vietnam War veteran McCain. Bennett had recommended two months ago that the committee drop proceedings against the pair, on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence against them. But he insisted that Senate banking committee chairman Riegle "played a much greater role than the two senators." And he was angling to be critical of DeConcini and

Cranston, the second-most powerful Democrat in the Senate.

Only one week earlier, the 70-year-old Californian had announced that he was resigning his post as Senate minority whip and that he would not run for re-election at the end of his six-year term in 1992 because he was suffering from prostate cancer. But testy jabs from the New York caucus had also delivered a harsh verdict on his conduct in the last decade: 34 per cent of those asked urged him to resign immediately. Looking frail and unwell at the Senate hearing last Friday, Cranston presented an emotional defense not only of himself but also of his son Kim, who ran voter registration drives that benefited from Keating's generosity. Still Cranston: "Police charges against my friend and blood son are far more than the charges against me."

Secretly produced documents showing that



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trial, and nearly \$900,000 to a get-out-the-vote campaign that helped the senator narrowly win reelection in 1986. Having never claimed reporters who asked whether he thought his political contributions were buying influence. "I certainly hope so," he replied.

Still, most experts expressed skepticism that the two tags will provide any fundamental reform in campaign financing. And many, including Robert Leach of Washington's independent Brookings Institution, point out that, despite the expansion of the rules, it has been slow to affect the political landscape, even during this month's congressional elections. "There was a certain amount of 'bribe' going around the voting public," Leach said. "But the responsibility for the crisis is so diffuse, it's hard to put it on anybody."

But according to testimony at House subcommittee hearings earlier last week, government officials may have made a concerted effort to cover up the extent of the savings and loan failures before the 1988 presidential election. A 1988 review of the chief thrift regulatory body for five southwestern states showed that officials knew that some savings and loan associations were deliberately concealing losses with the approval of local customers. They failed to sound an alert because some members of the local regulatory boards also sat on the questionable thrift boards.

In April, 1988, then-Treasury Secretary James Baker, soon to become the chairman of George Bush's presidential election campaign (but now secretary of state), testified before a congressional subcommittee that the six bailout requests required only \$12.4 billion to "handle the problems of the industry over the next three years." But seven months later, only 32 days after Bush's electoral victory, Chief Thrift Regulator William Siskind revealed that closing down the 108 most troubled savings alone would cost taxpayers nearly \$58 billion. And one California regulator has testified that in the summer of 1986, he received a phone call from someone in the White House, whose name he cannot be recalled at this time, asking him to delay issuing San Jose's failing Silverado until after the November election.

But some commentators argue that the S&L crisis in fact involved a far more damaging thread of cover-up. In the current ethics commission hearings, charged Paul Craig Roberts of Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, both Congress and the Bush administration are engaging in "incapacitating" James Roberts. "The crisis is not the fault of the Keating Five. These senators are being sacrificed by their colleagues in order to deflect the public's attention from the real cause of the crisis—an incompetent government policy." In fact, most observers of all L.A.'s opinion: that the same policies cost the average U.S. bank, 30% of which held, last year, making the specter of a potential economic catastrophe that could overshadow any public concerns over the Keating Five's campaign finances.

MARIE McDONALD in Washington

BRITAIN

Tarzan vs. the Iron Lady

Heseltine challenges Thatcher's leadership

The language was proper and polite. He had "allowed his name to go forward," said personal candidate-in-waiting Michael Heseltine, and he was "flattered" and "very grateful" for the support of fellow Tory MPs who had urged him to run. But his eloquent restraint disguised the essential during of his undertaking: a direct challenge to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for the leadership of the Conservative party. It was the second time in a year that the Iron Lady had faced an election contest among Conservative members of the House of Commons, and it

New 1. In turn, Howe's defection apparently helped influence Heseltine, a 57-year-old millionaire publisher and veteran politician, who is nicknamed Tarzan in part because of his swing-brother case of groping blood hair. Heseltine proclaimed that only he could lead the Tories to victory in the next general election, due by mid-1992, and "prevent the ultimate misery of a Labour government."

Since he resigned an cabinet minister in 1985 in a well-publicized disagreement with Thatcher over European policy, the question for Heseltine was not whether to challenge her leadership, but when. Meanwhile, he has traveled widely throughout Britain, collecting grassroots support with his message of "conservative" promoting closer ties with the 11 other EC members—and warning for his chance. Moreover, backbencher Sir Anthony Meyer mounted a taken challenge to Thatcher last December. But Heseltine held back until a recent string of Conservative setbacks offered him an opening.

Heseltine's political prospects improved last spring when the government's new per capita poll tax, which replaced a property-based system, prompted, often violent, protests from angry Britons. Next, a succession of by-election losses to Labour candidates confirmed the Tories' low standing in the polls. As

well, the polls indicated that the Conservatives would gain an immediate 16 points if Heseltine replaced Thatcher. Then, Howe last week issued a blistering attack on the prime minister that seemed to convince Heseltine to make his move.

In a speech to parliament, Howe bluntly explained the reason for his sudden resignation from cabinet two weeks earlier. The former Thatcher ally, who had served first as her finance minister, then foreign minister and finally deputy prime minister, declared that her negative attitude towards Europe's single market held "serious risks for the future" of Britain. Howe said that the real danger was not the opposition of a single European country, but isolation as the EC moves towards a barrier-free single market by 1992. "She seems sometimes to look out again a consistent wish to

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Thatcher once unassailable, she faces a party revolt over European policy

positively treating with ill-treated people," Howe said of Thatcher. "What kind of vision is that?"

As the prime minister sat stone-faced and the government front bench, Howe accused her of ignoring or disparaging the advice of party colleagues. And he added tellingly, "The time has come for others to consider their response to the conflict of loyalty with which I have perhaps wrestled for far too long." The next day, *Realtime* announced his candidacy.

ity, a threat to Britain's national identity. The New Review's incredulity and an ardent Thackeray supporter, set the tone for the leading literary and cultural journals. They read "The Admirer," *The Bungalow* and *The Rebel*, the paper dramatically portrayed the private lives of these key British writers as a parliament, advising that "no superstitious scruple should be allowed to be urged by the company he keeps." At the same time, Conservative party chairman Kenneth Baker called Havelock's decision to run "unnecessary and unwarranted." And defence minister Thomas King played the so-called golf card, claiming that it was wrong to contest the country's leadership while British forces in the Persian Gulf were facing the prospect of war.

On that note, Hemsley maintained that he did not replace Thatcher would not affect British policy "I am so supportive of the British government's position in the Gulf that there is no difference of my sort," he said last week. Hemsley was staking his candidacy on Britain's place in Europe and on a controversial new much closer to home, the poll tax. The day before his announcement, Hemsley declared that he supports Britain's bid, if granted, to join the European Community with France and Germany. But when asked about the Poll Tax, he said that as president-elect, he could afford "an immediate and fundamental reversal" of the unpopular poll tax. That was a transparent bid for the support of the approximately 200 Tory MPs in marginal constituencies who risk losing their seats in a general election.

his dream. The complex rules for choosing a Conservative leader stipulate that a candidate has to win an overall majority of the votes, and 15 per cent (or more) than the second-place finisher, to triumph on the first ballot. All 372 members of the current Tory caucus were eligible to vote. And if all of them cast ballots, a candidate needed 234 votes to win. If neither Thatcher nor Heseltine were successful, second-round balloting would take place on Nov.

27, when other candidates could also enter the race. Some Tories said that foreign minister Douglas Hurd, a Thatcher supporter, might then put his name forward as a compromise candidate to unite the divided party. If so it had won a simple majority in the second round, a third and final round would be held on Nov. 29 for the top three finishers.

A British Press Association poll last week indicated that Thatcher would win a narrow victory as the first leader. But at week's end, new government figures showed that unemployment had risen markedly in October to its peak cost, while inflation remained at nearly 11%—the highest level in 10 years. In the run-up to the vote, at the same time, several backbenchers recalled the experience of the 1975 leadership race, in which Thatcher defeated Edward Heath on the second ballot. Said one MP: "I feel bad more promises of support than there were members of the party."

Supporters of Thatcher said the immediate challenge had caused Thatcher to lose the election. Many of them maintained that even if she defeated her rival, she might not survive as party leader until the next general election. For the first Lady, whose declared intention is to lead the Conservatives to an unprecedented third term in office, such a result would be a humiliating end to a remarkable, if controversial, political career.

ANDREW BELSKI with CAM MATHIAS
in London



JADED LIBERTY

BLISS GIVES WAY TO DISILLUSION A YEAR AFTER THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONS SWEEP ACROSS EASTERN EUROPE

It was a brief honeymoon. In the year since the walls fell and the people of Eastern and Central Europe rushed to embrace a bride called Liberty, bliss has given way to disillusion. None of the newly freed nations has turned away from democracy as proposed a return to authoritarianism. But while citizens savor the joy of freedom, they are also experiencing its darker side: high inflation, unemployment and crime rates, increasing drug use and the spread of pornography, abuses from which communism sheltered them for at least 40 years. And they are increasingly drawn to forms of extreme nationalism that could give birth to a new generation of right-wing dictators. Whyte Adam Michnik, a leading scholar in Poland's Solidarity movement, "For a nascent democracy, the trap is nationalism. Nationalism is a delayed reaction to the need for



independence because it reacts in contrast to other cultures."

On Sunday, Lech Wałęsa, the original leader of Solidarity, which was instrumental in bringing down the Communist booth, will challenge his former associate, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, in presidential elections (page 34). The campaign's most pressing issue has been Mazowiecki's drastic attempts to revive Poland's economy, causing nationalist theories that throughout the former Soviet empire, the voices of ethnic grievance have been strident (page 34). In Romania, members of

the Hungarian minority say that they are in physical danger. In Czechoslovakia, Slovaks are demanding independence from the Czechs. Tension is growing between Christians and Muslims in Bulgaria, and in Yugoslavia, still officially a Communist country but not part of the

Compassion's body: East German refugees leaving Hungary (below) high inflation, racism and extreme nationalism



Berlin Wall: Czechoslovakian President Václav Havel and parliamentary chairman Alexander Dubček (below) apathetic, angry

former Soviet bloc, Serbs and Croats have revived old animosities (page 40). Meanwhile, many outsiders of the region say that German reunification may lead Berlin to attempt again to dominate Europe. And the nationalist movements awakened old fears in those who have suffered most from them in the past—the gypsies and the remaining Jews.

The resurgence might be stifled if economic recovery seemed more

discourage foreign investment. It will cost billions of dollars to bring the economies of Eastern Europe up to the standards of the West. As well, the area's once-flourishing trade with the Soviet Union is withering. The Russians, facing its own severe economic problems, has slashed imports from the region. And the former state-owned near-subsidized supply of cheap Soviet oil is drying up. In June 1, the Soviets will accept only hard currency for it. Meanwhile, the Persian Gulf crisis has forced the price of oil from other sources.

Apathy: Political disillusion is also widespread, even though free speech is flourishing, travel is permitted, and every country has held free elections. In Romania and Bulgaria, former Communists who have changed their political affiliation are again in power. One young Romanian, who was wounded in last year's uprising, declared, "We lived a lie under [dictator Nicolae] Ceaușescu and we're living a lie again now." In Hungary where the transition to democracy was peaceful, apathy is so widespread that less than 30 per cent of those eligible voted in recent municipal elections. Clearly,



Eastern and Central Europeans have learned that it is often easier to overthrow a repressive system than to create functioning and prosperous democracies.

likely that so far, prosperity remains a distant prospect. Even the people of formerly Communist eastern Germany, who are receiving huge amounts of aid from their western counterparts, will likely have to strive for years to become competitive. An austere Bernhard Reinhardt Zander, 56, put it last week, "The gap between us and them will take a generation to close."

Pollution: For the rest of the area, the transition from a totalitarian to a market economy will clearly range from extremely difficult to almost impossible. In fact, the output of many countries has fallen below that of a year ago. In Bulgaria, officials estimate that industrial production will have declined by 18 per cent by the end of the year. Only in Poland is a bold economic program beginning to take effect, stabilizing the currency and sinking inflation—but causing 7.5 per cent unemployment.

Many economists say that four decades of communism have simply stifled the entrepreneurial spirit. And industrial pollution has helped to

A WORKING-CLASS HERO

WALESA IS SET TO BECOME PRESIDENT

Leek Walesa tried to put on a convincing display of humility. Perhaps, he said last week, it would be better if his campaign to become Poland's president proved unsuccessful. "I could live better if I lost," he said with a smile. "I have a comfortable life. I don't have any time to enjoy my past victories. And I will, it will be more difficult—people will end up eating me." Walesa was sitting in a meeting room at his headquarters in Gdańsk, near the sprawling shipyard where his trade union movement, Solidarity, was born. His eyes darted around towards supporters, seeking approval for his jokes and comments. But he left no doubt that, behind his ingenuitousness, he is eager to leave the leadership of leading his nation. And when Poles vote on Nov. 20 in their first-ever fully free presidential election, it seems likely that the Solidarity leader will soon have that chance.

For many Poles, and indeed for many others around the world, electing Walesa to the Belleville presidential palace in Warsaw would be the logical culmination of the country's stormy past decade. It was Walesa whose charismatic leadership of Solidarity since 1980 helped inspire the popular revolts that toppled Communist regimes throughout Eastern Europe. But his campaign has not been a sailing factor in his own country. The two main candidates, the stout, working-class hero Walesa, 45, and the gaunt 63-year-old intellectual, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, were once close allies in Solidarity's fight against tyranny. Now, they are bitter rivals, clashing over the pace of political and economic reforms, and their supporters have split Solidarity apart in a type of Polish family feud. For many voters, however, the choice has been painful. "They used to see Solidarity as one body," said Ernest Skalski, deputy editor of the pro-Mazowiecki Warsaw newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*. "It was like children watching their parents divorce."

Walesa's heroic past and natural gifts for communicating with voters have made him the strongest favorite to win. Although opinion polling in Poland is unreliable, almost all surveys put the Solidarity leader well ahead, and the country's only bookmaker has made him the favorite.



Walesa: a heroic past has made him Poland's favorite

But, however, the presence of four minor candidates may deprive Walesa of the 50-percent return he needs to win outright in the first round of voting on Sunday. If no one reaches that threshold, the two top candidates will face off two weeks later in a second round.

Candidate: Surveys gave third place to a Polish-Canadian businessman, 45-year-old Stanisław Tytusiewicz. Tytusiewicz, who emigrated from Poland to Canada in 1970, is owner and president of a Mississauga, Ont.-based computer company and is leader of the Libertarian Party of Canada, which promotes the rights of the individual. Although Tytusiewicz fired his

campaign manager last week and acknowledges that he is little known in Poland, polls give him a surprising 10 to 15 per cent of the vote. "I am a symbol of hope for Poland," he said.

The close debate, between Walesa and Mazowiecki, has been passionate, in part because of the personal links between them. When Solidarity was founded under Walesa's leadership in the port city of Gdańsk in 1980, Mazowiecki was one of his closest advisers. And last year, when the former Communist authorities reluctantly agreed to hand power to a Solidarity-led coalition government, Walesa proposed that his longtime adviser be prime minister. Now, however, he claims that Mazowiecki's government failed to act quickly enough to arrest Communist bureaucrats and to dismantle the old state-run economy.

Mazowiecki's supporters accuse Walesa of being power hungry and missing responsible campaign pledges. As well, they say, Walesa would disrupt the government's ambitious program of economic reform.

Challenge: In fact, some of Walesa's earliest allies in Solidarity maintain that he may become a right-wing strongman who, as president, would prevent Poland from moving into a pluralistic democracy. His supporters' leadership made him the right man to tear down the Communist system, they concede. But they say that he is not equipped for the more difficult task of building a democracy in a country whose economy is in ruins. "The era of charismatic leaders is past," said Adam Michalski, a leading Solidarity leader who is now one of Walesa's fiercest critics. "Today, charisma can only serve to distract."

In an interview with *Maclean's* last week, Walesa rejected such accusations. He is jokingly and lecturing he displayed the remarkable self-confidence of a man who has been seemingly overwhelming odds—only overcome them. "It was the same in 1988," he said. "They said that I wasn't fit for the situation. Then, when martial law was declared [in December, 1981], they said I was finished. Now, they say I won't be any good for the current situation." He added, "I'd say again, but they'll start saying again that I'm not right for the situation."

Walesa's opponents have attacked him for making contradictory statements and for avoiding the difficult choices that he is at the heart of governing. They point out that he urges workers economic restructuring that



Shoppers buying free-market produce in Warsaw: learning to deal with economic reforms

would inevitably lead to bankruptcies and job losses—while declaring that he is against unemployment. Walesa himself cheerfully admits to the tendency. "It's true that I say one thing in the morning and something else in the afternoon," he said. "It's because I'm a realist of Poland's march toward reform. So I am a sort of eagle which picks things forward."

That approach is reflected in Walesa's economic program. He works towards a professional, pulling his allies opponents. Mazowiecki is so slow to act, Walesa told one gathering, that "he can't even cook a flea." He habitually refers to himself in the third person, as "Walesa," and he avoids saying exactly what he would do if elected. "How can I tell when I've never been president before?"

Food: While Walesa aims at winning his historic honors, Mazowiecki appeals exclusively to the intellectuals. A noted Roman Catholic intellectual, he barely looks at his audiences when reading his intelligent speeches. And he readily acknowledges that he cannot bring himself to adopt the standard conventions of a campaigner. "People say I smile too little," he said in a television address, adding "I have never been

able to adapt myself to those artificial smiles."

Mazowiecki and Walesa also appeal to different social strata. The prime minister is most popular among intellectuals, white-collar workers and younger voters. Walesa leads among farmers, blue-collar workers and older voters—generally those who have suffered most from the shock therapy economic reforms that the government introduced in January. Under that program, the government ended most price controls and set subsidies to state enterprises as part of a transition to a free-market

Mazowiecki popular among intellectuals and white-collar workers



economy. It reduced subsidies to a manageable three per cent a month now from a runaway 70 per cent one year ago, and 45 industries put goods on the once-bare shelves of food stores and shops.

But the government also cut Polish workers' real wages by an average of 35 per cent over the past year, and unemployment soared. Officials predict that more than one million people will be out of work by the end of 1990, and they say that number may double next year. The effects are evident in the large numbers of soup kitchens and beggars, as well as the rising crime rate in Warsaw.

Although sharp and dramatic, the personal contest between Walesa and Mazowiecki is only the opening shot in a larger battle for political power that ratcheted from the unusual way in which the Solidarity-led government took power last year. Partially free elections were held in June, 1989, under a compromise agreement worked out in the spring of that year between Poland's Communist rulers and Solidarity. The rules were designed to let the Communists keep control of most seats in the lower house of Poland's parliament. But Solidarity successfully defeated the Communist incumbent and every seat it won allowed to contest, and the pressure for change became irresistible.

Power: Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Communist president who declared martial law in 1981 and backed Solidarity, agreed to let the movement form a government. Walesa temporarily ousted Mazowiecki to lead it. But with the sudden collapse of Communist rule in the rest of Eastern Europe, what appeared at the time to be a bold breakthrough soon seemed like an unsatisfactory compromise. By last winter, Walesa began to speak out from Gdańsk, accusing the government of moving too slowly with reforms. Last spring, his supporters formed a group called the *Centre Alliance* to press for change, including speedier presidential and parliamentary elections to break the Communists' remaining hold on power.

Mazowiecki's allies now claim that Walesa simply had frustrated on the political sidelines. "Walesa could not

how to stand at the helm and which others make history," said Jolita Rutkiewicz, a senior Masowicz organizer. "He has been the focal point for too long." In response, the prime minister's loyalists formed a group called the Civic Movement for Democratic Action. The two organizations now act almost like rival political parties and plan to field candidates when new parliamentary elections are called, probably next spring.

The two men are waging their election fight on matters of both style and substance. Masowicz's supporters point to the prime minister's accomplishments in controlling inflation and beginning the miraculously employment of privatizing the economy. His government claims other accomplishments, as well. It negotiated a treaty with Germany, signed last week in Warsaw, that confirms the existing border between the two countries. That reassured many Poles who had expressed concern that a resurgent, unified Germany might try to take control of formerly German territory that was absorbed into western Poland at the end of the Second World War.

Collapsing: The prime minister's supporters say that political stability is essential to allow the government to pursue its reforms. That might be responsible to achieve, they claimed if Wales was and unadvised disruptive populist forces. They also caution that Wales may be playing on some of the darker emotions still alive in Poland, including anti-Semitism. Last summer, he said that people should "declare their origins," a statement that some of his critics interpreted as Wales's response to widespread, unconfirmed rumors that key members of Masowicz's circle are Jewish or are otherwise influenced by Jews.

During the campaign, anti-Semitic slogans were scrawled on walls in Warsaw, and a few Masowicz posters were defaced with the word *Zyd*, Polish for Jew. Wales maintains that his opponents are exaggerating the issue in order to discredit him. "Jews and the Jews are a chosen nation," he said in Gdansk. "I am a Catholic and I must respect the chosen nation, as I cannot be anti-Semitic." Then, however, he added without further explanation, "But there are among them, you know, pharisees who are fighting against me."

Some of Wales's other statements have also caused controversy that brought out respect constitutional restraints at a time when Poland's democracy is still taking shape. One problem for voters is that the powers of the president will remain somewhat undefined until the government adopts a new constitution.



Shipyard workers in Gdansk strong support for Wales in the birthplace of Solidarity

next year. In an interview last June, Wales declared: "For today, when we are changing the nation, we need a president with an open, tough, straightforward. One who sees that people are grudging from the change of system, he issues a decree valid until the parliament passes a law." That led Michalski, his onetime Solidarity ally to write, "Lech Wales's presidency may be catastrophic for the Poland."

Last week, Wales dismissed these attacks as predictable barbs from people who want to keep the problems of power that they have won in the past year. "Who is more dangerous at this point?" he asked. "Masowicz isn't looking to oppose." His supporters say that by talking about "laws" and "decrees," he was simply trying to underline the need to cut through the layers of bureaucracy still hindering reform efforts.

In fact, there is ample evidence to support their claims that action has been slow. The Masowicz government has won widespread praise in the West for its far-reaching economic reforms plans, drawn up by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz. Wales, apparently seeking to calm concerns that he might change course, has even suggested that he might name Balcerowicz to be his prime minister. But despite the praise, many of the plans remain unfulfilled. Although the government has slashed 7,500 state-owned enterprises that are to be priv-

atized, it has announced immediate action on only seven.

Beliefs: Although Masowicz promises that half of the rest will be privatized over the next three years, Wales's supporters maintain that such a timetable is an only further delay. And Jack Masowski of the pro-Wales Civic Alliance. "At this rate, people are wondering in what century we are going to finish this business privatization." He added: "People were willing to tighten their belts based on the promise that reforms would come quickly. Well, it's almost a year later and we've tightened our belts, but we don't see any reform."

There are already signs that the reasonable patience that Poles have shown towards the government's harsh program is starting to wear thin. Civil actions have staged sporadic strikes to protest these halting standard of living, and their leaders were calling for a one-day walkout this week, just five days before the vote. Wales warned last week that

Masowicz's government will not be able to control the unrest. If he wins the presidency, Wales himself may have to use his personal prestige to contain the growing unrest. More importantly, he will have to demonstrate that he is as skilled in building democracy as he is at tearing down dictatorship.

Andrew Phillips is in Warsaw



Tymoski, from Canada

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IN TYRANNY'S WAKE

EASTERN EUROPEANS EXPECT YEARS OF MISERY

Almost a year to the day after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the streets of the new-United German capital were in turmoil again last week. But this time, the crowds were not waving national flags or cheering their triumph over tyranny—they were throwing gasoline bombs and metal bars instead. For at least four days, more than 1,000 riotous squatters protesting housing shortages fought pitched battles with police in which more than 200 people were injured. "Pigs out," they shouted, as police arrested nearly 800 of them. German sociologist Wilhelm Heitmeyer said that when young Germans enjoy peaceful means to point to problems, one lesson: "But when they use violence, the relevant groups," he added. "Politicians must not miss the warning signals."

In fact, there are warning signs across Eastern Europe that the fragile democracies created in the wake of the 1989 revolutions are in need as these citizens struggle with unemployment, inflation and crime. Anti-Semites and extreme nationalists are on the increase as some citizens are their new freedom to express dislike for minorities. And as their post-Communist governments flounder in their efforts to resist free-market economics, Eastern Europeans express growing dis-

satisfaction with the process of democratic debate. There may be more to come. A report by the European Commission released last month predicted that Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia would lose a total of nearly \$6 billion this year, and much more in 1991, as a result of rising world oil prices. Said Sirkka Grenwall, a university student in Prague: "I think we're in for some years of misery." To assuage the unease, Helsinki's *Vaasanlehti* compiled the following reports on nations in transition.

BULGARIA: Last fall, with the collapse of Communism in East Germany, the Bulgarian regime moved quickly to pre-empt post-democracy rioting. On Nov. 30, reform Communists removed a palace coup, forcing reform Communist leader Todor Zhivkov to retire. His replacement, Peter Mladenov, promised political reforms. And in elections on June 30 and 17, Bulgaria became the first country to freely re-elect the Communists, who had renounced themselves the Socialist party.

Observers say that the Socialists are largely because they filed state shops with food and consumer goods as the months leading up to the vote. Since then, they have been unable to sustain that degree of well-being. The coun-

try now experiences frequent power cuts, and on the dreary streets of the capital, Sofia, food lines are growing longer. And one worry hangs over the Socialists' future: "We were talking about a 65-per-cent price increase on goods in late October, 100 and track drivers blockaded bridges and border crossings, forcing the government to back down. And the government's move to raise meat prices has led to nearly 30-per-cent inflation. That means that 60-year-old retired laborer Niklos Seher, for one, who lives on a fixed pension of \$75 a month, has been reduced to rummaging through trash bins for state bread and other scraps. "I don't know what else to do," Seher said last week in Budapest, his shopping bag full of rotting bread that he said he planned to sell in pig feed for 50 cents.

Unable to satisfy both sides in the economic debate, politicians are already jailing public confidence. Last month, Andrzej Bogdanowicz, Democratic Frontism was only 38 per cent of the vote in municipal elections, down from 43 per cent in the national vote.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Even while Bulgaria's Communists were engineering their palace coup, Czechoslovakia's hardline rulers were frantically clamping to power. On Nov. 17, 1989, the government ordered riot police to crack down on several thousand students protesting to Prague's Venceslava Square. But when rioters agreed that one of the students had been killed, hundreds of thousands of students, later joined by workers, took to the streets. The country's leading dissident, playwright Václav Havel, emerged as the leader of the revolution. After hard-line party leader Milos Jasek resigned, the parliament chose Havel as president. And on June 8 and 9, Havel's Civic Forum movement, along with its youth wing, the Public Against Violence, swept national elections.

Portents of Havel still hang in almost every store and office in the capital and in the smallest outposts. But the president does not want government as a post. Parliament is still divided on proposals to turn state firms, and there is almost no popular support for Czechoslovakia. As a result, unemployment is difficult this one per cent, but that also means that people still live up to buy the same old-bare goods in state-run stores.

bers. About 1,500 East-West joint ventures operate in the country, and more than 2,000 small businesses have semi-private status. But critics accuse the government of moving too slowly—it has estimated only 20 of the 2,000 largest state firms for privatization this winter.

Other critics, however, demand that the government cut state jobs, raise wages, and raise taxes. When Antal stepped a 65-per-cent price increase on goods in late October, 100 and track drivers blockaded bridges and border crossings, forcing the government to back down. And the government's move to raise meat prices has led to nearly 30-per-cent inflation. That means that 60-year-old retired laborer Niklos Seher, for one, who lives on a fixed pension of \$75 a month, has been reduced to rummaging through trash bins for state bread and other scraps. "I don't know what else to do," Seher said last week in Budapest, his shopping bag full of rotting bread that he said he planned to sell in pig feed for 50 cents.

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donk students released a statement saying that the Nov. 17 anniversary of the revolution will be celebrated. "We don't want Communist officials crying out cheering and laughing in our faces," they wrote. And last month, in a clear shift to the right, Civic Forum elected a new leader, Prime Minister Václav Klaus, an advocate of free-market economics. His move was not without a price: the explosive issue of Slovak nationalism. Last month, the Slovak republic's premier warned that separatists, angered by the government's plans to give the Hungarian minority the right to their own official language, were planning a terror campaign to prove for Slovak sovereignty.

GERMANY: The former East Germans have been more fortunate in July, they forged economic ties with the Federal Republic and, as Oct. 3, the first German bank was formally opened. In the past year, about 200,000 private firms have opened at the east. Still, many constraints



Squatters' barricade in eastern Berlin (opposite): Living conditions in Romania suggest that fragile democracies are in peril

now say that they feel like second-class citizens. Inefficient firms have collapsed in the free market, forcing nearly 800,000 employees out of work. Analysts say that, by next year, almost half the eastern workforce could be unemployed.

The Bonn government has estimated that it will cost \$75 billion a year over the next five years to upgrade the eastern infrastructure and to provide unemployment benefits to the rising tide of jobless people. And just as customers resent the poverty of their western cousins, a recent poll by the Bonn-based survey group found that 63 per cent of western Germans are opposed to higher taxes to subsidize the east's recovery. "There are walls in some people's heads," conceded Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt. "Four years of difficult systems cannot be overcome overnight."

ROMANIA: Nowhere in Eastern Europe is democracy more threatened than in Romania. When dictator Nicolae Ceausescu sent the

Securitate secret police to put down a peaceful protest in the town of Timisoara last December, he provided a bloody precedent in which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people died. Ceausescu fled the capital on Dec. 22, and the National Salvation Front, a group made up mainly of military officers and former Communists, took power. They executed the dictator and his wife, Elena, on Christmas Eve.

The National Salvation Front, led by President Ion Iliescu, was a two-thirds majority in elections on May 20. But its critics accused the government of employing Communist terror tactics in June, when it killed as thousands of workers to suppress anti-government protests in the capital. "After the revolution, I was a great hero," said a 38-year-old engineer who claimed to have shot five Securitate officers during the revolt. "Now, I know I was a fat."

Meanwhile, rampant inflation drives Romanians to the 3.5-million-member Hungarian minority. In March, at least five people died in bloody ethnic clashes in Transylvania, a region that has alternated between Hungarian and Romanian rule three times in the last century.

Bitter debates in parliament have held up economic reform laws. And thousands of intellectuals are trying to leave the country. Analysts forecast the first serious strike in South Africa now led by an average month's salary on the black market. "It is an obsession with us now," said Iliescu's wife, Elena, 44, a communist party member from the 1950s. "There is also widespread commercial theft—the Decu car plant in Pitesti, northwest of Bucharest, workers stole \$2.8 million worth of parts last year."

Last week, hundreds of thousands of Romanians took to the streets in 30 cities to demand the resignation of the National Salvation Front—the largest street protests since the December revolution. "Romanians understood they were cheated and humiliated," noted analyst Marian Marescau told a 100,800-strong crowd in Bucharest. "Now they want truth to come out."

But there are other Romanians who express growing nostalgia for authoritarian rule. In a recent poll, Václav Klaus, editor-in-chief of the formerly nationalist *Romanian Voice* (*Vocea Romanilor*) newspaper, "Romanians don't need this kind of democracy." Klaus openly advocates a period of military rule to restore stability. A year after the fall of the Berlin Wall, he lives to live for freedom, such sentiments represent a dangerous threat to tyranny.

MARY SENECHET with EMERY DALRICH in Budapest; JOHN WELLS and DAVID GORDON in Bucharest; SUE SLOAN in Prague and VICTORIA CLARK in Bucharest

COMING APART AT THE SEAMS

ETHNIC HYSTERIA GRIPS YUGOSLAVIA



Albanian mourners for victims of ethnic strife in Kosovo; fears of civil war

Eastern Europeans got a peculiar surprise last week. Less than 10 months after the Yugoslav central Communist party's decision to relinquish its constitutional monopoly on power, early returns from multiparty parliamentary elections in the country's tiny, southern republic of Macedonia showed the Communists leading in the race for 120 seats. But the results from the first free elections in the republic's 45-year history did not mark the end of the democratic domino effect in Eastern Europe. Macedonians clearly voted less for conservatism than for their best hope of surviving as a separate entity—by the Communists' light to make Macedonia a republic in 1945. "Everybody from the Bulgarians to the Turks to the Albanians has designs on their territory," explained a veteran Western diplomat, on condition of anonymity. He added that the Macedonians knew that "their best way of staying halfway autonomous is to stick with the Communists, who want Yugoslavia to remain a country."

In the 1990s, as communist leaders in western Europe abandoned a security

policy, the deciding factor in whether the turbulent region will flourish or disintegrate. The outlook is particularly uncertain in Yugoslavia, a Balkan country of 23 million people created from a patchwork of ethnicities after the First World War. Although ethnic tensions have always existed there, nationalism was repressed during the Communist era, particularly under the straitened leadership of Marshal Josip Broz Tito, who ruled the country for 35 years until his death in 1980. Since then, however, central authority has crumbled. And Yugoslavia's six republics, populated by four major and several minor nationalities, are in the grip of ethnic hysteria. Last week, the beleaguered government of Prime Minister Slobodan Milosevic warned that there will be "general chaos" unless tensions ease.

Violence: Yugoslavia's main ethnic friction is between its two largest groups, the more than eight million Serbs and at least five million Croats. Last summer, many Serbs abandoned plans for regular elections along Croatia's Adriatic coast because of media reports of gang violence against vacationers with Serbian ac-

cents, including the shooting of cars with Serbian license plates into the sea. At the same time, when Serbs in Croatia held a referendum in August on so-called cultural autonomy, they armed themselves against a feared Croat invasion. Later, Croats from throughout the republic fought their way through Serbian barricades in a violent city in Zagreb, the Croatian capital. They cheered an nationalist leader Franjo Tudman called on Croats around the world to defend the republic—with violence, if necessary. And they bussed at every mention of "Serbia."

Meanwhile, in southern Kosovo province, more than 50 people have died already this year in clashes between the majority Albanian population and the province's Serbian governors. In the northern, independence-leaning republic of Slovenia, leaders said that they would refuse to send army recruits to serve in other parts of Yugoslavia. And in the central republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are sharp tensions between the Croatian majority and the large Bosnian-Serbian population. Even in Macedonia, one of the few republics that has managed to contain nationalist tensions, there are increasing claims of harassment and discrimination from the minority Albanians.

Nationalism: Yugoslavs are so preoccupied with ethnic hatred anger that most conversations eventually turn to the subject. Branka Mitulic, 34, who returned to the Serbian and Yugoslav capital of Belgrade last year after living abroad for five years, told *Marion* that she was shocked at her reception. "At home, the talk is of Serb supremacy. Serbs this, Serbs that," said Mitulic. She added, "My mother said, 'You're not with us, are you?' 'Why are you leaving Serbia?' [I've become a black sheep.] 'One misdeed of a Serb, who did not want to be named, said that she gave up working as a housekeeper for a Croatian family 'because I felt uncomfortable and even in danger there.' She added, "They were always talking about politics and looking at me strangely. I couldn't continue."

In recent months, nationalist leaders have begun naming their republics' parliamentaries all bodies with genuine power. The country's first free parliamentary elections were held last spring in the northern republic of Slovenia and Croatia, where assassinated partisan warlord Communists. On Sunday, elections were held in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and on Dec. 9 voting will take place in Serbia and Montenegro.

Yugoslav republics have already produced plans whose differences appear irreconcilable. Serbia, for one, wants a strong federal union that would allow it to predominate. At the other extreme, Slovenia and Croatia favor a loose confederation under which each republic would be relatively autonomous. But the Slovenian leaders begin serious negotiations after all the elections are over next month. They may determine whether there is agreement on a new federation—or a cold war.

ANDREJ BELSKI with **LOUISE BRANSON**
in Belgrade

"I just saw what I want for Christmas. And I bet he drinks Johnnie Walker Red."



OLD WORLD THINKING HAS ALWAYS ADHERED TO THE "BIGGER IS BETTER" ENGINEERING CREDO.

THAT THEORY NO LONGER CARRIES WEIGHT.

IN FORMULA 1 racing, where victory is measured in milliseconds and defeat in milligrams, Honda's V-10 engines have defeated the V-12 competition to win the World Constructors' Championship for the fourth consecutive year.

An accomplishment that owes much to the discipline of removing every component that doesn't contribute to exceptional performance.

It is this very logic that informed the design of the 1991 Legend.

Once again, Acura engineers have proved that increased displacement is not the only route to improved performance.

By optimizing the Legend's power-to-weight ratio they have created a radically rethought 200 hp, V6 engine that delivers 25% more power than its forerunner.

Without weighing a gram more

**WINNING AT
FORMULA 1 TAUGHT
US HOW TO LOSE**

The entire steel subframe and engine mounts have been replaced with stronger, lighter aluminum.

A new rear suspension system reduces unsprung weight by almost 30 kg for lighter, nimbler handling.

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Even the headlights, windows and sunroof have lost weight.

As you'd imagine, the 1991 Legend has emerged from this reduction process with a rather attractive figure: 200 to 200 in 7.9 seconds. A figure other luxury touring sedans would be hard pressed to match.

**WE TOOK
OUT THE TRANSVERSE
MOUNTED ENGINE**

The switch from transverse to longitudinal engine mounting meant retooling the entire drive train. Nevertheless, the effect on performance has been profound.

At 60/90, front-rear weight distribution is considered to be ideal, giving you performance that combines the handling of rear-wheel drive with the traction of front-wheel drive.

The extra space created enabled us to run a continuous steel frame through the engine compartment, increasing body rigidity by 30%. Body shudder and the characteristic roll of the transverse mounted engine have

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What we've achieved inside the engine is no less significant. A unique variable induction system developed for the Acura NSX boosts low end torque by 26% without sacrificing top-end performance.

**WHAT YOU TAKE AWAY
FROM ALL THIS**

Simply put, the new Legend is stronger, faster and more efficient than its predecessor. It's longer, but

its turning circle is almost a meter tighter. Thickened body panels increase the Legend's cabin rigidity by 2% creating a sense of solidity that is unruffled even in the heaviest roadwinds.

Although much of the bulk has been removed, luxury features abound. It is, however, a luxury achieved by thoughtful design rather than fanciful decoration.

Progressive valve shocks deliver a handling experience designed to ensure the Acura NSX boasts low end torque rather than an aesthetic the Inner Engine room, borrowed from

the revolutionary NSX sports car, have been described as 'intrinsically refined'.

The cabin interior is so quiet, cruising at speed is more likely to resemble a ride in a glider than a car. A sensation we've engineered by insulating the floorpan with honeycomb panels patterned after those used in the aircraft industry.

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BANKING IN BAD TIMES

Like most of Canada's powerful banking executives, Cedric Ritchie guards his privacy. Quiet but hard-nosed and astute, the 53-year-old chairman and chief executive officer of the Bank of Nova Scotia rarely poses for photographs, grants few interviews and almost never appears on television. Most of the time he prefers to let other news Scooti executives speak on the bank's behalf. Lately, however, the publicity-hungry Ritchie has shown an uncharacteristic willingness to speak out about the operations of the country's third-largest chartered bank. His aim, he says, is to quell speculation in financial circles that the bank's performance is suffering because of its heavy exposure to the collapsing U.S. real estate market and high-risk loans issued to leveraged corporate takers. "There is a perception by certain analysts on the street that we are overexposed," Ritchie said. "I personally don't think the market goes on enough credit."

Ritchie has single-mindedly tried to be concerned about his bank's image. Among investors, a financial institution's strength is usually measured by its capital ratio—in other words, the amount of money it has on hand as a proportion of the assets owed to it by borrowers. But perhaps a bank's most valuable asset is one that does not appear on its balance sheet: the confidence of investors and depositors in its ability to weather the unexpected, and sometimes brutal, consequences of an economic slowdown. And on that score, some of Bay Street's most influential analysts are now saying concerns. Although Ritchie himself has a strong track record for steering troubled loans, they argue that Scooti's portfolio of high-risk loans leaves it more vulnerable than the other five large Canadian banks to the potentially damaging effects of a drop and prolonged recession. Sent Kerna, a banking specialist with Mercer Placements

CANADA'S THIRD-LARGEST BANK DEFENDS ITSELF AGAINST INCREASING LOAN LOSSES

Canada Inc., a brokerage firm in Toronto. "The value of the collateral" was not Ritchie's concern in the past and now, "they are skating on thin ice."

Despite that harsh assessment, Bay Street stock analysts are quick to point out that Scooti's profits and net gains remain strong by international standards. And as one of the industry is predicting a run on the Bank of Nova Scotia by large commercial depositors, as happened in 1983 to the Continental Bank of Canada, which was later swallowed up by Lloyd's Bank Canada.

Above all, banking specialists say that Scooti's problems are far less severe than those currently plaguing banks in the United States. Caught off guard by the collapsing real estate market, U.S. banks are writing off an estimated \$2.5 billion a year in mortgages and other loans. "The wave of losses has forced widespread layoffs at major commercial banks in New York City, while driving some regional institutions—including Bank of New England and Maryland National—into the brink of collapse."

As the recession tightens its grip across most of North America, the number of problem loans is rising in Canada, too. Currently, about 1.5 per cent of the big six banks' loans are

classified as non-performing—which generally means that the borrower has fallen at least 90 days behind in payments. Based on estimates of the number of new delinquent loans in 1991, that figure will probably rise next year to 1.7 per cent. But even that is far below the 4.5-per-cent rate for non-performing loans during the 1982 recession.

At a time when the economy is in a tailspin, Canadian banks have a number of advantages over their counterparts south of the border. Unlike the major U.S. banks, Canadian banks have large retail-branch networks, which generate a steady stream of income and provide a stable source of funds for lending. Most smaller U.S. banks, which can accept deposits, are prevented by federal law from operating in more than one state. The reason that when property prices in any one area of the country start to fall, the impact on banks in that region is especially severe. By contrast, Canada's major banks are spread out across the country in today's circumstances, with property values and economic output generally weak in Central and Eastern Canada, but strong in the West that is a distinct advantage.

Measured against its domestic competitors, however, the Bank of Nova Scotia is clearly being caught in the middle. The bank's stock has plunged 37 per cent from its peak in the last year, closing last Friday at \$11.36. That compares with a 26 per cent drop for the shares of the other large five banks.

Basically, the problems of Scooti are largely a result of the bank's past successes in penetrating the U.S. market. Currently, U.S. borrowers owe the bank about \$14.5 billion. That includes \$3.1 billion in real estate loans and \$2.3 billion in loans for so-called highly leveraged transactions (HLTs), in which corporate finance takers buy by taking on a large amount of debt. In total, says analyst Dooley, Scooti bank has \$11.7 billion tied up in these and other loans that carry an abnormally high risk rating. That compares with Dooley's estimate of \$7.4 billion for the Royal Bank of Canada, \$7.1 billion for the Toronto-Dominion Bank, \$6.7 billion for the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, \$6.5 billion for the Bank of Montreal and \$3.3 billion for the National



Scotia Plaza: "It is quite a troubled business"

Bank. Dooley's Hugh Brown, an influential bank analyst with Burns Fry Ltd. of Toronto. "Quite simply, we are in an environment where loans with above-average risk are a success. And Scooti bank has a greater number of those loans than all Canadian peers."

Like its competitors, Scooti bank declines to disclose the identity of its borrowers or how much each owes—although the information becomes public if a borrower goes into receivership. But one analyst who asked not to be named said that the bank has info problems when it helped to finance construction of a major new shopping mall outside Vancouver. The mall's owner is Adina-Donald L.J. Honker and he also controlled the Bonnet, Telus and B. Altman & Co. Ltd. department store

chains before being forced to sell them last spring. In August, 1990, the company sought bankruptcy protection under Chapter 11 of the U.S. Bankruptcy Code.

According to Brown, Scooti bank also helped to finance Australian entrepreneur Alan Bond's \$1.5-billion takeover of C. Henderson Winery Co., of Leesville, W.Va. Since then, Heinman has had difficulty competing with larger, more efficient brewers in Canada and the United States. Said Brown, "Believe me, it is quite a troubled situation. There may be some chance of loss." Indeed, Dooley said that the bank has already written-off as much as \$40 million of the \$150 million it lent to Bond. But even that amount may be insufficient, he added. "Some banks have written off about 500 per cent of their loans," Dooley said. "Henderson Winery has not."

Scooti bank also has several large loans in Canada that appear to be in trouble. Analysts say that debt-laden Campen Corp. of Toronto owes the bank about \$300 million—debt that is secured by mortgages on the bank's 44-store headquarters in Toronto, as well as Macmillan's Blue Boxers trademark and other property. In addition, the bank is owed an estimated \$300 million by Markham, Ont.-based Magna International Ltd., a financially troubled automotive parts supplier owned by Frank Stronach, and \$29.1 million by Claran Corp. of Bradford, Ont., a carpet maker that is close to reorganization. Sentinella said that on October 1, 1991, \$2.5 million was owed to Scooti bank by a high-end Toronto clothing store that has filed for voluntary bankruptcy.

For his part, Brown says that Scooti bank press reports have driven down partly because of overexposure on the part of U.S. investors. He added, "In the United States, there is a heat on for the banks. People are scared. They look at the ratios for Scooti bank and get concerned." One key ratio is the extent to which a bank's capital base—including loans, bonds and reserves—covers its claims for high-risk HLTs. Scooti's ratio is 100 per cent, compared with 114 per cent of the bank's capital, Brown said. That compares with 30 per cent for the Royal Bank and 36 per cent for the Commerce.

As bad as those numbers may appear, Ritchie insists that the bank's critics are exagger-

Business Notes

INFLATION RATE JITTERS

Rising producer prices caused by the Personal Gif credit pushed Canada's inflation rate to 4.7 per cent in October, up from 4.2 per cent in September. The day before Statistics Canada released the latest inflation figures, the Bank of Canada lowered its benchmark rate slightly by 0.14 percentage points to 12.35 per cent. Economists said that Bank of Canada governor John Crow appears determined to keep interest rates high to fight inflation, even if that worsens the current recession.

RETAIL SALES WEAKEN

Canada's leading retail merchants are suffering because of the current economic slowdown. Statistics Canada reported that department stores also posted a 0.6 per cent decline in September, up 0.6 per cent from the same month a year ago, but that represented a drop of four per cent after discounting for inflation.

OPENING THE TAP

Western Canadian natural gas producers cheered a ruling by the U.S. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission allowing TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. to extend use of its pipeline across the border. The pipeline will run 575 km from Calgary, Ont., to Long Island, N.Y. The producers said that the extension will allow them to export an additional \$1 billion of gas to U.S. buyers each year.

TRADE TALKS FAITER

Negotiations from the United States, the European Community and the so-called Cairns group of 14 medium-sized trade-exporting countries, including Canada, failed to reach an agreement on creating international agricultural subsidies at meetings in Geneva. Arthur Dinkler, the director-general of the 100-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, said that the item remains deadlocked unless, there would be little chance of reaching a new agreement on lower international trade at the final round of talks scheduled in Brussels next month. Meanwhile, President George Bush said that he will seek European leaders at meetings this week to break the impasse.

A VICTORY FOR THE PEZ

The B.C. Securities Commission cleared bankruptcy Vancouver stock promoter Murray Pezzullo and two of his associates of charges of unauthorized trading. The charges arose out of stock transactions last year between two Pezzullo-controlled companies involved in developing the Calgary Centre gold mine in northern British Columbia.

ating its problems. "Currently the law of averages suggests that you're going to take a certain percentage of banks," he said, sipping a coffee in his plush, sixth-floor office at Toronto's Scotia Plaza. "But we are in the risk business." Ritchie added that some executives have mistakenly confused the bank's RIT loans with secured junk bonds, the high-risk, high-yield certificates that were used to finance some large corporate takeovers. "You get up and down, but we are very comfortable with our portfolio."

Indeed, Scotiabank executives frequently complain that their lending practices are misunderstood by outsiders. A case in point, says chief financial officer Robert Chabolas, is the bank's \$5.8 billion in loans to developing countries—known to bankers' jargon as LDCs—two-thirds of which have already been written off. "People are saying that every LDC is a dog," Chabolas added. "They aren't. It's not that not every one is a pig, but it's out there in negative to people say." As for the bank's U.S. real estate exposure, Chabolas says: "Obviously, we are not walking on water here. We

are concerned that the market is fragile. But we've been careful to spread our portfolio over many cities."

Beyond trying to calm jittery investors, Ritchie says that he has no plans to alter the bank's operations. Among other things, he says, Scotiabank will open another 50 or 60 branches this year, bringing its cross-country total to more than 1,300. It will also double the number of its automated banking machines to 880.

But despite the fact that Ritchie is within two years of the normal retirement age, he declines comment on the identity of his likely successor.

Some analysts speculate that the bank's succession plans were disrupted earlier this month when vice-chairman Lynton (Dini) Wilson, 59, left to become president and chief operating officer of telecommunications and financial services giant BCE Inc. "We're trying to run a business here, not to psychodramatize who's the people are writing about us," Ritchie says. Clearly, though, the criticism from the outside has struck a nerve.

ROSS LAYER with AMY BELMISLET
in Toronto



Condominium project in Halifax: 'would your bank manager invest in it?'

for Canada's sixth-largest trust company. During its first two decades, Standard grew slowly by appealing to farmers and small businessmen, first in southern Ontario and then across Canada. In the mid-1850s, however, encouraged by Owl's success in Western Canada, Standard lent the Alberta development company almost \$150 million to help it expand into Ontario and Nova Scotia. But cost overruns and falling real estate values forced Standard to step in and take control of the buildings in 1969. Now, the trust company is supervising construction on any additional units and trying to lease or sell the others.

As well, federal and provincial regulators are investigating whether Standard overstepped guidelines by lending more than the permitted amount to a single developer. But Standard contends that it followed accepted practices because the loans went to cities that overborrowed. It says the loans were spread among small investors who each put down \$4,800 deposits for a maximum of two condominium units. But that explanation has failed to appease shareholders in Standard's parent company, Standard Trustco Ltd. Standard Trustco's

shareholders at \$1.80 last week, compared with its 50-cent high of \$24.95.

The decline in the firm's share price is what led news for Helen Roman-Barber, who took over as chairman of Standard's parent company after her father died in 1988. Last year, Roman-Barber rejected offers to purchase Standard from two competing trust companies. Then, in August, she said that her company would sell its 44-percent stake in Standard—but only if it received substantially more than the market price of the shares.

But many of the hundreds of small investors who lean for their deposits on the condominiums have already passed judgment on Standard's lending practices. "It's a scam," says Patrick Conner, 51, a Halifax pathologist who is trying to recover more than \$6,000 in deposits he put down on three uncompleted units in 1987. Asked Conner, "Be careful of anything that comes in a glossy brochure. First, ask your bank manager if he would invest in it."

PATRICIA CHISHOLM

SETTING A NEW STANDARD

For Canadian bank and trust company executives, the current troubles at Toronto-based Standard Trust Co. are a warning of how quickly, and dramatically, the downturn in the real estate market can cause a fall from grace. Founded by mining magnate Stephen Ross in 1863, Standard built a reputation as one of the country's most prudently managed trust companies. But that image was tarnished in July when it ordered an annual meeting held after learning that 11 per cent of its \$1.8 billion in assets was tied up in questionable real estate loans, especially to Edmonton-based Owl Developments Ltd., to build condominium projects in Halifax, London, Ont., and Burnie, Ont. Sent one of the investors in the London units, who requested anonymity, "I was partly persuaded to invest in the project because of Standard's good reputation. I can't believe that they lacked something like this."

The full extent of Standard's problems became evident on Nov. 9, when the 27-branch company announced that, after the special audit, it had written down its assets by \$51.4 million because of shaky loans. At the same time, it increased its reserves available to cover additional losses to \$55 million. The company, now operating under constraints imposed by federal government regulators, is carrying a total of \$215 million in nonperforming loans. As a result, Standard has revised its annual \$5.4 million profit in the first half of the year to a \$50.3 million loss.

The write-down was a stunning reversal

Guests at holiday party astonished at being served pure gold.

High-rise anguish

Too much office space threatens developers



Arnell with BCE Place in background; bankers are becoming more cautious

Gordon Arnell has a job that few real estate executives would envy. For the past year, the busy 55-year-old developer has been struggling to rescue troubled BCE Development Corp. During the speculative boom of the 1980s, BCE ran up an imposing \$2.4-billion debt as it rushed to expand its portfolio of high-quality office towers throughout North America. But as the economy sagged and interest rates rose, BCE ran into problems. Last year, it turned for help to Toronto financiers Peter and Edward Broadbent, who lost some \$250 million, as well as the services of Arnell, president of the Broadbent-owned Carsons Development Ltd. As a result, Carsons now owns 51 per cent of BCE. Now, Arnell is facing a new challenge—a growing, continuous glut of office space that is making it harder for companies like BCE to attract new tenants. Arnell says that the current oversupply is an inevitable result of the inflated energies of the 1980s. He added: "This industry is just incapable of imposing any discipline on itself. You give a developer money and he builds something."

From his 44th-storey office window overlooking Toronto's financial district, Arnell can survey the results of that construction boom. Across the street in BCE

Place, a \$1.4-billion, two-tower complex that is due to be completed next September. In total, developers in Toronto expect to build 18-3 million square feet of additional office space by the end of 1991—an amount that is slightly greater than Winnipeg's total existing supply of commercial property. Still, in Toronto and most other major Canadian cities, demand for new space is falling as the current recession deepens. And because banks are refusing to finance major new office projects, developers say that Canada's construction industry is heading for a severe slump by 1993.

Developers and real estate analysts say that the amount of vacant office space will likely increase during the next year. They point out that several large buildings have recently been

finished or are nearing completion, including the 32-storey second tower of the Pury's Place development in Halifax, a 47-storey new law Canada Ltd. tower in Montreal and the huge new Cathedral Place and Waterfront Centre projects in Vancouver.

At the same time, some companies are trying to cut costs by downsizing office space that they no longer need or find too expensive. Air Canada, for one, is selling its 39-storey head office in downtown Montreal and moving to more modest premises that the company already owns in suburban Dorval. Said Toronto-based real estate broker Geoff Arnold: "A lot of companies are walking away from leases and trying to downsize."

To a large extent, developers themselves have caused the oversupply. A decade ago, most real estate companies delayed construction until they had lined up tenants for at least half of the space and had arranged all of their short- and long-term financing. But according to Harry Roskolski, a real estate analyst with Toronto-based investment dealer McEwen McCarthy Ltd., developers tended to disregard many of these practices during the 1980s. Said Roskolski: "People were throwing caution to the wind. And the longer the boom went on, the more foolish developers became."

Still, office vacancy rates in most large Canadian cities are far below the 25-per-cent levels a hard-hit U.S. cities, especially Denver and Dallas. But some bankers say that the current figures in both Canada and the United States mask the full extent of the problem. Arnold, for one, says that the estimates of current vacancy rates fail to include space that is slowly to be rented in uncompleted buildings like BCE Place. As with the estimates given so-called lease takers, in these cases, developers sign up new tenants by agreeing to cover their payments in other buildings while they find new occupants. In fact, Arnold says that the real vacancy rate in Toronto has climbed to more than 20 per cent—far above the widely quoted level of 11.2 per cent.

The pausing impact of the real estate slump on U.S. lenders has made Canadian banks more cautious. For the most part, their commercial real estate activities are confined to refinancing existing projects for longtime customers. Declared Arnold:

"If you walked into a bank with a new project, they probably wouldn't do it for anyone." But he added that the bank's caution is "defensive" because it can prevent developers from going ahead with projects that they will later regret. At least one developer is thankful that the banks are imposing discipline on an industry that is unable to discipline itself.

JOHN DALL with
GLEN ALLEN in Halifax
DAN ARNOLD in Montreal and
RALF QUINN in Vancouver

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Browsing through the books of 1990

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

While it was hardly a *rinôçérôse* year for business books, there were a few standouts and some unusual titles that should have made it onto the best-seller lists. Here is my selection.

Brown Cows, Sacred Cows. by Rodney Toche—The slinger at the publishing post, this wonderfully wacky history recounts the antics of a company trying to develop its facilities at Lake Louise, Alta., where confronted with bureaucrats who have no agenda except to spin out the dynamics of delay. The battle has been waged for 60 years, and it isn't over yet. A literary and witty Calgary investment analyst, Toche recounts every hilarious detail of how he and others tried to face Ottawa down—and almost won.

A Splitter in the Heart.—Poets don't always make great novelists—writing that much more a hard on the last. At Parry is a spectacular exception. His tale of what happened in Ontario, Canada, the summer of the 1918 explosion at a chemical factory becomes a tragic elegy for the victims that had and mushroomed. This is the best Canadian novel of 1990.

White Knights and Poison Pills. by David Olive—A cynical dictionary of business jargon, here is the ultimate raspberry to the just decade, which produced not only its own crisis but its own language in the jargon of the 1980s. "I'm not" means "I'm sorry with whom you have yet to do business," "passer" is "an idea in black tie." With violent irony, Olive manages to juxtapose the fiscal extravagance of a generation by diverting its slams. My favorite: "It is difficult," a Japanese expression meaning "no," and "The Campus Factor"—"putting ego before propriety."

Inside Guide to Canada's 50 Best Stocks. by Dave Francis—It is too easy to dismiss this compulsion as a handy guide to which stocks will be the last ones to go down

In the patois of the times, 'friend' means 'an enemy with whom you have yet to do business,' and a 'vision' is 'an idea in black tie'

the toilet in the current market crash. Instead, Francis's selections deserve study because they are the shares to hold during this latest swing in yet another business cycle. The extreme bubble against the market, also rightly points out, "as is foolish as the extreme love affair many had with it while the bull was running ahead."

The New Landlords. by Donald Goheen—Possibly because it was published by one of the smaller presses, Porcupine Books of Victoria, this essential study of Asian investment in Canadian real estate hasn't received the attention it deserves. Is an overwhelmed and well-written assessment of the impact of East Asian wealth on this country. Goheen documents the startling case that without our becoming aware of it, we have become squatters in our own land. This is unfortunate, but don't blame the Oriental investors. They did only what we let them to do.

The Roman Empire. by Paul McKay—The subject of this book crumbled and far from adequate biography was, in the immortal phrase of Geoff & Gwendolyn Ted Mandel, "something of a left wing personality's wet

dream"—a semi-Seneca, snow-baiting, middle-east to either environment or job safety regulation, a corporate bandit with gutter ethics and no conscience. That was Stephen Roman, and it was entirely in character for him to try to show his earthly side by building an ornate \$25-million cathedral and buying his own clergy. McKay has done some useful research, but he has much to learn about structuring a book and making it sing.

Paradise of Rogues. by Maude Barlow—The enduring mystery of Canada's free trade deal with the United States is why we first gave the Americans everything they wanted—a gutted Foreign Investment Review Agency and destruction of the National Energy Program, among other concessions—and only after words negotiated the agreement. Maude Barlow, who is understandably angry about this and other governmental and private-sector transgressions, has written a powerful diatribe, accusing the politicians and businessmen of having betrayed their country. Her research is selective, but her voice rings true. The most devastating condemnation of free trade is her 28-page list of factories that have so far been closed as Canadian manufacturers rush to reconstitute themselves south of the border.

Steinberg: The Breakup of a Family Empire. by Ann Gibson and Peter Halden—This is a perfect case study of how a multi-pass family-owned business from one generation to the next. "The emotions that had a family together," note the authors, "can easily blow apart when money and corporate power are at stake." They have dug up valuable new facts about Michel Steinberg, the oil-refining entrepreneur who ended the Steinbergs' 70-year dynasty, and placed together a recent chronology of the family's downfall.

Breakup. by Dan Brail and Sydney Shere—According to the authors, "Central Canada, as usual, bore the brunt of the recent deconstruction of language and society," while ignoring the fact that "the only way to avoid a split when money and corporate power are at stake." They have dug up valuable new facts about Michel Steinberg, the oil-refining entrepreneur who ended the Steinbergs' 70-year dynasty, and placed together a recent chronology of the family's downfall.

175th The Battle for Canada. by Louise LaFren—The author knows nothing less than an exciting new way of recounting history. Applying current television news techniques to the printed page, LaFren wanders in and out of the text, interviewing the characters he's writing about, allowing his own emotions to lead him in an wonderfully exciting quest for truth. The method works beautifully and the book that decided Quebec's—and Canada's—fate is made understandable at last.

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PEOPLE

DRAMATIC RECONCILIATION

In the 1960s and 1970s, says playwright Michel Tremblay, "I was part of that generation that wanted to put a bomb in the family unit." Added the 46-year-old Montreal native: "We did, I wrote many plays about the exploding of families." But Tremblay says that his latest play, *La Malinco expatriée* (The Soapucled House), the story of three generations of a Quebec family, is "about reconciliation." He added: "My generation thought that Quebec started with us. I realized I wanted to show what came before. I felt like being more tender."

Leading words

Controversial and apologetic, Barbara Amiel is a columnist who rarely inspires confidence. And in January, Amiel, who is a monthly columnist for *Maclean's*, will become the lead political columnist in *The Sunday Times* of London—the first woman and the first Canadian to hold the job. Amiel, who has lived in London since 1985, says that *The Sunday Times* "is the largest, most influential of the quality papers in Britain. To be the lead columnist means you have a healthy respect." The 50-year-old author and journalist said that she is "horrified" by the appointment because "every Sunday in *Esquire*, the world stage while everyone reads their paper." But, said the writing Amiel: "One gets old, one's points of view, it becomes important to maintain yourself. Like any columnist, your job is to defend, in that process you may offend, alienate or inform." Added Amiel: "One hopes that one informs more than one alienates."



Amiel: confounding or alienating



Schreier: 'a dream come true'

A MODEL ACTRESS

Winning the 1994 Supermodel of the World contest in New York City and a \$250,000 modelling contract at the age of 14 was, says Toronto native Sandra Schreier, "every girl's dream come true." But now, Schreier, who moved to Los Angeles in May, is pursuing an acting career. In January, she will appear in the first episode of a detective series called *Savering Bullies* playing a model turned hit man's murder. Sandra Schreier, 19: "I only do contract modelling now. That's when you're exclusive to one company." But she added: "I'll also model for a lot of money. I don't turn down big jobs just because I'm an actress now."

A PLAYER, A POET, A LEGEND

Before Wayne Gretzky became a household name, Guy Lafleur was hockey's superstar. The all-star right winger, who now plays for the Quebec Nordiques, spent 13 years with the Montreal Canadiens—and his controversial early retirement in 1984. Lafleur was twice the NHL's most valuable player, topped the league's scoring roster three times and, with the Canadiens, won five Stanley Cups. Last week, Montreal journalist Georges-Hubert Gervais launched the English translation of *Overfire: The Legend of Guy Lafleur*. The biography chronicles Lafleur's life, including the disputes with Canadian management and his return to the game in 1988. But Gervais details lesser-known facts: Lafleur, who is 36 and married, has had a heart transplant and, in 1986, he had an extramarital affair with an unnamed singer. He is also a poet. Wrote Lafleur: "Candidly your lyricism is dreamily your glow we lose our circles..." Nothing like the poetry Lafleur has carved on the ice.



Lafleur: an affair and a heart transplant

Adapting Mowat for television

Canadian author Farley Mowat says that having others adapt his writing for the screen does not bother him. But he says that he hopes the new TV adaptation of his 1966 adventure novel, *Lost in the Barren*, will preserve the book's messages of respect for nature and civility. Added Mowat, 63: "Anything anybody can do to bridge the abyss between Canadians and the true first peoples is a good thing these days."

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PUBLISHING

Desktop revolutions

Integrated desktop systems revitalize LeDroit

During the 1980s, the Ottawa-based French-language daily *LeDroit*, with a circulation of 400,000, accumulated a reported debt of \$10 million—despite newsprint and advertising staff reductions. Associate publisher André Préfontaine said that as an attempt to save the 77-year-old paper, the company hired Ottawa-based S&S, Inc., a firm that specializes in integrating computer systems, to find a technical solution to high production costs. *LeDroit* and S&S designed a \$1.6-million system that integrated almost all functions of the newspaper,

which began operating late last year, has made "a dramatic difference" to the newspaper's balance sheet. After restructuring both the staff and the production system, Préfontaine said *LeDroit* could start turning a profit as early as next year. Préfontaine said that overall restructuring of the company cut the staff in half to 125, with 85 of the jobs paid coming as a direct result of the technical upgrades at the paper.

Used as a case study at the Cambridge conference, *LeDroit*'s system attracted attention because of its flexibility, Solimeno said. He



Préfontaine: an example that others may follow

added that many newspapers use computerized publishing systems based on software and hardware that cannot be changed without replacing the entire system. He also said that one of the newspaper executives attending the conference criticized the high cost and inflexibility of the closed networks. Meanwhile, Préfontaine and Michael Arnold, S&S's industry marketing manager, said that they were surprised at the wide interest in the problem. Declared Arnold: "The client had a problem, and we put together a technical solution to that problem." Clearly, it is a solution that may eventually be in use at newspapers around the world.

Préfontaine said that the new arrangement, which began operating late last year, has made "a dramatic difference" to the newspaper's balance sheet. After restructuring both the staff and the production system, Préfontaine said *LeDroit* could start turning a profit as early as next year. Préfontaine said that overall restructuring of the company cut the staff in half to 125, with 85 of the jobs paid coming as a direct result of the technical upgrades at the paper.

Préfontaine said that the new arrangement,

JAMES DEACON

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Chilling actions

Canadians launch a rash of libel suits

Heart battles involving well-known people are perennial attention-grabbers but, until recently, they were largely confined to the United States and Britain. Now, however, a rash of suits involving high-profile litigants and defendants has been launched in Canada. Last week, at least five actions, not seeking \$50 million in penalties, were before Ontario courts, while literary groups voiced growing concern about their effect on freedom of expression and journalists complained that what has become known as "libel chill" had begun to inhibit their work.

The latest action was launched by Canada Council chairman Allan Gotlieb, who is suing \$325,000 in damages from Toronto writer Heather Robertson and Southern Inc., publishers of *The Ottawa Citizen*, over an article published last spring. That article questioned Gotlieb's relationship with a U.S. publishing company. Gotlieb, who served as Canadian ambassador to the United States from 1981 to 1988, said in his statement of claim that Rob-



Black: involved in several challenges

ertson's article had hurt his professional reputation and made him the focus of public scandal. In her statement of defence, Robertson contended that what she wrote was her comment on a subject of public interest. Added Robertson's statement: "The freedom to speak openly about public officials and public figures is subverted or impaired by fear of defamation actions."

In July, financier and publisher Conrad Black, who earlier dropped an action against Penguin Books Canada and author Ann Palston after the defendants apologized and Penguin destroyed 6,300 copies of a book about pensions, sued *The Globe and Mail* newspaper and columnist Michael Valpy. Valpy had written about what he said were Black's views on the possibility of a U.S.-Canada political union. Valpy subsequently retracted what he described as "inappropriate" conclusions about Black. But Black, the owner and publisher of various newspapers, including London's *Daily Telegraph*, said that he was not satisfied and would continue with the suit. Then, in late October, Black served a libel notice on *The Canadian Press* after the critical news service circulated a story about his handling of money in a Dominion Stores Ltd. employees pension fund in 1988. *The Globe and Mail*, which carried the Canadian Press story, had earlier printed an apology. And on Nov. 7, Black's lawyers filed a claim for \$1.5 million against the Toronto-based publishing firm of McClelland & Stewart Inc., 7 St. West Publishing Ltd. and Ron Graham, author of *God's Dominion*. The book,



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A second chance

Grappling with new reproductive technology

After a 10-year courtship, former civil servant Christine Bergauer and accountant Joe Free married in 1981 and planned to start a family. But when years of marriage, Bergauer-Free didn't become pregnant and, finally, the couple sought medical help. Now 37, Bergauer-Free says that she and her husband found the following three years physically and emotionally distressing while doctors put them through dozens of tests and exploratory surgery—only to tell them that their infertility was “unexplained.” Finally, in 1986, the Toronto couple resorted to so-called *in vitro* (or “in glass”) fertilization (IVF), a high-tech method of producing what many people call “test-tube babies.” On Aug. 2 of that year, doctors at Toronto's East General Hospital placed one of Bergauer-Free's eggs into a surrogated laboratory dish, fertilized it with her husband's sperm and then implanted the egg into her womb. Nine months later, their son, Tristan, was born. Although there subsequent attempts at *in vitro* fertilization failed, Bergauer-Free says that “the doctors in still there.” But now, there is a growing controversy over the whole IVF procedure, which a royal commission is investigating.

The new age of human reproduction began with the birth of a girl in July, 1978, in Luton, Bedfordshire, England. Louise Brown was the first *in vitro* baby, the first child ever to be conceived outside a woman's body. Since then, researchers have developed new ways of treating infertility, a steadily growing and often devastating problem that now affects at least one in six Canadian couples. But all forms of the technology have raised medical, legal, economic and ethical issues. To address them, on Oct. 25, 1989, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called for a Royal Commission on Assisted Reproduction.

Bergauer-Free, who began her work at Toronto and Montreal, before moving to Vancouver and Victoria and working in its field public stages by the time it completes its investigation on May 29, the commission will have heard from 300 groups and individuals concerned with the technologies, and it may report to the government as early as October, 1991.

The nine-member com-

mission faces a formidable task. Its mandate is to examine and report on the causes, treatment and prevention of infertility, as well as the scientific and medical developments in reproductive technology and their implications. In addition, the commissioners are investigating



Bergauer-Free (left) and family in *in vitro* technology made a son possible

special arrangements, including surrogate childbearing, and the ethical issues involved in embryo freezing and research. The commission's terms of reference are set out in a report to the prime minister by the chairperson of the commission, Dr. Patricia Baird, who is on leave from her post as professor of obstetrics and gynaecology at the University of British Columbia. “We are hearing that Canadians are coming to realize that these are powerful technologies with new choices. How should they be used? How should they be controlled? There are some real-life issues here for real people.”

In the 12 years since Brown's birth, medical researchers have developed a number of ways to help infertile couples in Canada alone, 13 IVF fertilization clinics have started operations since

the early 1980s. Two of them, in Toronto and Vancouver, have each been responsible for the birth of 300 babies. The method has become so popular, and infertility so large a problem, that in many cases the waiting list at hospital clinics is well over a year. Other couples have turned to surrogate mothers, who for a fee of as much as \$20,000, allow themselves to be impregnated with a woman's egg fertilized by her partner or, in cases where the would-be father is infertile as well, will receive an artificially inseminated egg, and carry a couple's baby.

Dr. Christo Tzavara, director of the IVF program at UBC, says that he expects infertility rates to increase for many years. Experts, including Zorner and Dr. Murray Knuch at East General Hospital, say that about one-third of all problems in conception are the result of disorders in the woman's reproductive

system. Many of these are the result of previous use of contraceptive intrauterine devices, of such sexually transmitted diseases as chlamydia and, to a lesser extent, of postmenopausal pregnancy until a woman is in her 30s.

Male infertility, which accounts for another third of the problem, may be the result of developmental abnormalities, of infection by mumps during puberty or adulthood, or by an inherited or genetic low sperm count. The increasing couples suffer from other factors, including problems with sexual intercourse. In a few cases, doctors cannot explain the infertility in couples like Bergauer-Free and her husband. In all cases, however, the diagnosis is usually devastating. “It's like losing someone you really love,” says Bergauer-Free, who appeared before the commission on Oct. 29. “But this is a death without you. The question is always, why?”

Although reproductive technology has opened doors to infertile couples, many critics and supporters of the procedures have expressed concern about the health risks to

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HEALTH

women. During the process, a woman takes special drugs to help her ovulate. Critics say that, as a result, potential side effects, including blurring and cataracts, the drugs may also increase the rate of miscarriage and so-called ectopic pregnancy, which occurs when an embryo implants itself in the Fallopian tubes. But Knauth says that because doctors can establish a pregnancy at a much earlier time, they can also identify miscarriages that may go unnoticed in natural conceptions. He cited a four-to-five-per-cent ectopic pregnancy rate "because we're dealing with people with damaged tubes," and said that the only real difference in IVF pregnancies is a higher rate of multiple births. Said Knauth, "That is a side effect—if you consider it a negative."

In its brief in the commission on Oct. 22, the Ottawa-based National Action Committee on the Status of Women severely criticized surrogate arrangements. SAC SAC president Judy Belack, "Contract motherhood represents a new form of reproductive prostitution." She added, "The potential is to create a broader class of women to sell their capabilities." And Wade Prescott, a director of Campaign Life, a Toronto anti-abortion group that is presenting its opinion in the commission this week, says that she strongly feels surrogate arrangements should be banned. "What it's likely to lead to is poor women carrying babies for others," she said.

An equally contentious aspect of the technology is surrogate freezing. During the initial staged IVF, doctors may remove several eggs from a woman, freeze them and store them for later use. At Zornes's clinic, unused embryos are thawed and left to disintegrate, a practice that Dr. William Douglas, a Madison-area family doctor, for one, says is tantamount to murder. Said Douglas, "Once an embryo becomes a distinct entity, it should be treated with respect. Killing is killing."

What also worries many people, including Dr. Edward Kreyenbuhl of McGill University, is that flawed embryos or embryos of an unwanted sex could be discarded. Said Kreyenbuhl, a member of the university's Center for Medicine, Ethics and Law: "The fear in this area is a very real one. You could have clinics accepting gametes (eggs or sperm) from people with certain characteristics." Does that mean reprehensible, Douglas adds, is the possibility that scientists could create embryos for research, in such areas as drug toxicity, as an alternative to tests on animals. "It opens up a real Pandora's box," he said. "There are very serious implications for human rights in general."

Campaign Life's Prescott says that all embryo research should stop. "A human embryo is a human being from the first cell," said Prescott. "At that point, it has all the rights that are attached to other living human beings. I don't think we have the right to use them like they were animals." For his part, Kreyenbuhl said that freezing and experimenting on embryos left over from in vitro fertilization for research directly related to infertility is acceptable, if the women consents and has some

control over their use. He added, "Legitimate experimentation should be legitimate. I think the argument not to do so is not being useful."

Whether the technology, many of those couples would have been denied the chance to be parents. But most people who have appeared before the commission expressed concern about the cost of in vitro fertilization, which is as much as \$4,000 for each attempt. In Canada, the only province that covers the cost of IVF is Ontario. Even there, a couple must pay as much as \$800 for fertility drugs for each attempt. Belack, for one, says that the cost creates inequalities among women. "If we're going to have them, they should be financially accessible to everyone," she said.

Belack and Kreyenbuhl, like others, also say that fertility clinics' screening process is unfair. Some doctors agree to provide in vitro fertilization to couples only after they determine that the relationship is stable. "People do get married who make a bunch of it and who aren't great parents," said Kreyenbuhl. "Why do we screen people for IVF? Why should we be able to do that here and not in the normal parenting situation? It's an additional discrimination on someone who is already infertile."

The cycles of hope and despair experienced by a woman receiving help for infertility is a concern that most witnesses expressed—and one that Bergman-Frie says that she remembers well. "It's devastating," she said. "In the beginning, you think it will work out. As time passes, it wears on you. You begin to doubt yourself." Doctors say that there is only about a 20-per-cent chance in each of the first three tries that in vitro fertilization will result in a pregnancy. After that, the possibilities decrease. Of those pregnancies, about 12 per cent will result in miscarriage. The white papers, and Zornes, are extremely accurate. He added, "There's the emotional side. There's the financial side. There's the low success rate. It's a roller coaster, for sure."

Most people involved with reproductive technology claim that government guidelines are urgently needed. Knauth, for one, called for a ruling on whether single or older women and lesbians should be entitled to IVF. He added, "I would like to have a lot of help in that area so I'm neither putting myself in jeopardy nor withholding the treatment." Others, including Zornes and Belack, recommended equal access to the procedures for all women. But, declared Christine Overall, a philosophy professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., "It has to be absolutely clear that the chances of success are low, the short- and long-term risks are unknown, and that the women are participating in an experimental procedure."

Beard acknowledged that it is extremely difficult to come to terms with the implications of science's advances. Added Beard: "You don't have a choice but to face it if you have any sense of responsibility as a society." But, for Christine Bergman-Frie and her husband, Jim, the issue is clear: those advances enabled them to have a family—something that would have been impossible 15 years ago.

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Rochelleau: extreme language leading to a loss of civility in Canadian politics

BEHAVIOR

Politics of abuse

Harsh language is under widespread attack

The Gilles Rochelleau, a member of Parliament who sits as part of the separatist Bloc Québécois, Liberal leader Jean Chrétien is Quebec's "Julius, a leader to Quebecers, a hypocrite and a liar." Rochelleau issued his denunciation at an Ottawa news conference in July, after he resigned from the Liberal party because of Chrétien's leadership position. Declared Rochelleau, "I've never put knives in his back. I will put them in his face!" That kind of extreme language is being used with increasing frequency in Canadian politics. In September, when he learned that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was seeking approval from Queen Elizabeth II for the creation of eight new Senate seats, Liberal Senator Jacques Hébert told a Quebec radio interviewer that Mulroney had "bricked the Queen." Exaggerated rhetoric, said former Liberal cabinet minister Jack Pickens, now 80, "is discrediting our institutions at a time in our history when we cannot afford to have them discredited."

In his heyday, the sharp-tongued Pickens drew strength from the give-and-take of the Commons. As a prominent opposition critic and Liberal cabinet minister

during the 1950s and 1960s, he participated in such partisan antics as the 1956 Pipeline Debate and the frequent allegations of corruption and scandal that characterized the period. But, said Pickens (and from his Ottawa home last week, "if you could see those debates on television today, you would regard them as tame compared to the raucous nowadays.")

Indeed, many analysts say that civility is disappearing from Canadian politics. In March, Monique Visina, the federal minister of state for employment and immigration, who is also an opponent of Chrétien, said that the Liberal leader made her "viral." More recently, at the height of last summer's GNA crisis, native leader Georges Erasmus accused Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa and Mulroney of being "cruel and sadistic" in their military response to the native blockade. And Ontario Premier David Peterson, in his re-election campaign, snarled towards defeat at the hands of Bob Rae's New Democratic Party in September, warned an audience in Sudbury that the policies of an "our government would cause a recession, in which your kids cannot get enough to eat."

Analysts have put forward a variety of reasons to explain

the increasingly ungracious use of language in politics. One of the reasons, and Toronto novelist Timothy Findley, is that some modern-day politicians have little of substance to say. "The rhetoric of people like Pierre Trudeau was founded upon intelligence, and an intelligent choice of words," he said.

Some critics say that television, with its nearly insatiable demand for provocative statements and colorful imagery, is to blame for the rise in rhetorical excess. The analysts say that some politicians, who are eager for TV exposure, are tempted to push their language beyond the usual partisan turfs to get attention. But others claim that increased language warfare stems out of the tensions that are evident in a broad range of highly charged issues—from domestic uncertainty over Canada's constitutional problems and the sagging economy, to the threat of war in the Persian Gulf. And Elly Aboon, Ottawa bureau chief for CBC TV's *The National*, "Canadian politics is operating at an unbelievably high emotional level right now. Many politicians sense that the country itself is at stake, and that makes them ruder and more on edge."

The feverish pitch is evident in the current bitter Senate debate over the controversial Goods and Services Tax, which Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government plans to implement next year. The Senate debate has often descended into bitter name-calling. Sen. Libbert: "Most senators on both sides are gentlemen, but now there is no question of talking tough inside the Senate and going for a scotch afterward." He added, "I think Mulroney is destroying the country, so I cannot be pleasant with his generals."

Some critics say that the use of violent political language is now widespread in the United States as well as in Canada. There, political critics have chastised President George Bush for comparing Iraq President Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler, and for other exaggerated statements. In fact, comparisons to Hitler and his Nazi party are being widely used in American politics. During this country's midweek elections, John Silber, the defeated Democratic candidate for the governorship of Massachusetts, chastised the Rep. Jesse Jackson as "the voice of Adolf Hitler." Silber was subsequently defeated in the election.

Some critics say that, eventually, the shouting and slandering may cause some voters to lose out politicians—and their messages. According to the Winnipeg-based pollster Angus Reid, the shrill rhetoric of the young federal Liberals who made up the so-called Red Puck "did not help the Liberals in 1988, and the Senate charapans are not helping them now. It is becoming acceptable to say to your co-workers, family and friends, 'I just don't believe any of these bums.'" In such an atmosphere, said Pickens, all politicians become caricatures—and the moderates risk being "lumped in with people who do nothing but mischief as they go." But until that message sinks in, the politics of charlatanism seems destined to prevail.

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A season of change

Upstart teams are shaking up the NHL

Last summer, the St. Louis Blues started the National Hockey League's off-season by signing multi-million-dollar deals for the services of the high-scoring right-winger Brett Hull (who will earn \$8.5 million over four years) and three-
year-defenceman Scott Stevens (\$5.9 million over four years). Now, just seven months into the 1990-1991 season, St. Louis and the Blues are continuing to shake things up. Hull led the NHL last week with 39 goals, while Stevens anchored a defence that has allowed the fewest goals against (55). The Blues, who

dominated by three dynasties: The Montreal Canadiens, the New York Islanders and the Edmonton Oilers have won 14 of the past 15 Stanley Cups. In the new order, the New York Rangers, who have not won a Stanley Cup since 1940, stood first in the Patrick Division last week, while the Chicago Blackhawks, who last won the league championship in 1961, led St. Louis by one point in top of the Norris Division. According to Gary Mauer, executive director of commentators for the league, some teams, including St. Louis, have improved in the result of trades while other clubs

is for splashing to sign up Hull and Stevens, while Chicago traded away superstar centre Dennis Savard for Montreal's outstanding defenceman Chris Chelios. As it turned out, Stevens' tough playing has helped to solidify the Blues defence, while the fiery Chelios has helped the Blackhawks develop a winning spirit. St. Louis general manager Ron Caron: "He who takes no chances goes on wins."

Meanwhile, with expensive player salaries eating away at payrolls and without a U.S. network television deal, 16 of the league's franchises raised ticket prices this season. Price increases ranged from \$2 to \$5 a seat, with the cheapest NHL seats selling for \$8 and the most expensive, the 70 exclusive boxes, five-six seats at Los Angeles's Great Western Forum, for \$250 each (or \$9,167 for the season) to see Wayne Gretzky and the Kings play. According to Dennis Metz, the Kings' sales director, there is a waiting list for the speed seats, which send ticket holders from the rest of the crowd, because of the interest from Hollywood actors, including Sylvester Stallone and Tony Danza, and movie studio executives. "All these people talk about is Gretzky," said Metz.

Another lucrative source of income for existing NHL owners is league expansion. The league's governors decided in 1989 to add San Jose, Calif., to the league starting next season and to expand the NHL to a total of 28 teams by the end of the 1990s. At a Dec. 4 to 6 meeting in Palm Beach, Fla., applicants from eight cities, including Ottawa and Hamilton, will make presentations to the governors that could result in a \$400-million windfall for the league if seven new teams are approved, at an entry price of \$58 million each. The U.S. candidates for expansion include the Florida cities of Tampa, Miami and St. Petersburg, as well as Houston, Seattle and San Diego.

Among the Canadian cities, Hamilton faces a possible handicap because it sits within the 30-km territorial limits of St. Louis, franchises in Toronto and Buffalo, and could be required to pay multi-million-dollar penalties for the entrance.

For their part, backers of Ottawa's bid last week gave members of an NHL expansion committee a lively welcome when it visited the Canadian capital. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney sent greetings, and about 350 Ottawans, businessmen, politicians and sports figures gave the committee a standing ovation.

After leaving speeches and Ottawa, committee members attended the city's business plan they would have to wait for the meeting in Florida next month, which will decide on the newest entrants to the increasingly competitive NHL.

JAMES BEACON



Hull (left) in the Oct. 14 game against the L.A. Kings: "Good teams find a way to win"

finished second in the Norris Division last season with a record: 37-34-6 win-loss-tie record, opened this season with a sparkling 12-4-1 record. In a typical performance week, Hull, who in the first period of a game in St. Louis against the Quebec Nordiques, scored off a rebound to break a 2-2 deadlock and give his team its 13th victory in 14 games. St. Hull: "Good teams find a way to win."

Seven less will need time to adjust to the idea of the Blues being a hot team. So far this season, the Blues are one of several upstart teams that are threatening to alter the league's traditional balance of power. For years, the NHL, which plays to expand in 39 teams (over 21 by the end of the 1990s), has been

built as young players drafted into the league from junior hockey. St. Alvin Englund, Toronto-based executive director of the NHL Players Association. "It's going to be harder to have dynasties like Montreal was able to have."

Still, some dynasties may prevail in spite of adversity. With seven captain Mark Messier out of action with a sprained left knee, the Stanley Cup champion Edmonton Oilers lost a headlining name consecutive games, then rebounded to defeat the Vancouver Canucks 5-3 last week as Messier returned to the lineup.

For St. Louis and Chicago, the clubs' early-season successes seemed to vindicate their controversial all-star player moves. Sports commentators and critics alike criticized St. Louis



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Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis: a breakthrough from Modernism

ARCHITECTURE

Monuments to money

Banks' designs are telling social statements

For centuries, banking organizations have tended to house themselves in buildings that convey a sense of wealth, security and permanence. But there have been notable exceptions. In the early 1960s, the Canadian Bank of Commerce (now the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce) developed elegant yet easy-to-assemble wooden buildings that could be picked into two boxes, shipped west and swiftly erected as new Prairie outposts. In a town called—and may still—the bank simply dismantled its building and moved it to another site. One of those tiny neoclassical structures, a bank still in operation in Inuvik, Alaska, is included in a major photographic exhibition of North American bank buildings that opened last week at Montreal's Canadian Centre for Architecture. The new comprehensive show devoted to bank buildings, *Money Matters: A Critical Look at Bank Architecture* illustrates the ways in which the familiar landmarks have reflected changing social values.



Wagg: a rich array of building styles

Organized by Montreal architectural historians Susan Wagg and Houston photography curator Ann Tucker, the show contrasts the conventional wisdom that banking institutions are strictly conservative in their design taste. In fact, the show—which moves to Chicago after closing in Montreal on Feb. 24, and travels to the Vancouver Museum in September and to Ottawa and Toronto in 1992—demonstrates that banks have experimented with a rich array of building styles, and have even at times been architectural trailblazers. Encompassing nearly 200 years of North American bank-building, the exhibition features 59 editions, screened in color and black-and-white by 13 specially commissioned photographers. The buildings—36 of them American and 20 Canadian—range from the pure, house-like banks of the Georgian era to the brick, glittering sky-scrapers of recent decades. But all in some way convey a sense of authority and stability. Said Wagg: "Banking has a lot to do with psychology—it is a business founded on trust."

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, as Wagg points out in her catalogue essay, North America's banks had difficulty generating trust. Most of the population was agrarian, conservative and debt-averse, and such rigorous American precedents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were vocal opponents of banks. At the time, only a wealthy elite used banks at all.

But bank buildings were already serving as style-statements for civic architecture. One of the

most influential early buildings featured in *Money Matters* is the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. Designed by U.S. neoclassical architect William Strickland and erected between 1815 and 1824, the severe stone edifice, modeled on a pediment of steps and flanked with Ionic columns, was the first U.S. public building ever modeled on a Greek temple. The style, which came to be known as Greek Revival, dominated American civic architecture in the first half of the 19th century. Early Canadian banks, however, were far more likely to assemble contemporary bank interiors or private clubs than classical temples. Said Wagg: "Greek Revival was a

Dutch translation of Renaissance's neo-classicism. While tall, regional banks proliferated in the United States, in Canada a handful of institutions—including the Bank of Montreal and the Bank of Commerce—rapidly amassed power and opened branches across the country. The Canadian banks remained more sedate-looking than their U.S. counterparts, but had some buildings like the Bank of Montreal West End Branch on St. Catherine Street, now Greenleaf Trust's, built in Montreal in 1869, reflect a taste for sumptuous solidity.

Towards the end of the 19th century, classical came once again into vogue in the United States—and the cool gray tide of stone pillars

architectural theory, it was a period of ferment. After the 1909 stock market crash, a vast number of U.S. banks failed, leading the government to impose more stringent regulations on banks and to introduce federal deposit insurance—which meant that depositors would no longer lose their money if the bank failed. Said Wagg: "Banks were looking for new ways to get into, and use of five areas that they got very excited about was consumer banking—the mass and women of the streets." Partly because of the introduction of deposit insurance, Wagg added, banks no longer needed "that solid, fortress-like look" to convince people that their money was safe.

Meanwhile, Europe's spare International Style was making its way to North America. Bank architecture took an entirely new direction with the Manufacturers Trust Co. (now Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.), which opened on New York City's Fifth Avenue in 1924. Designed by architect Gordon Bursbach of the prominent American firm of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, it replaced the spires, fortifiable walls of earlier banks with transparent plate glass.

The pared-down, glass-box look of the Manufacturers Trust building was the theme of bank architecture throughout the 1960s, resulting in such acknowledged modern classics as Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Toronto-Dominion Centre, erected in Toronto between 1964 and 1969. But in the next decade, ornamentation started to reappear in force. In the mid-1970s, a very different bank tower took shape alongside the last bank volumes of Mies's Toronto Dominion Centre: the Royal Bank Plaza, designed by Toronto's Webb, Zurek, Mendes, Haueisen Partnership, contains 32,000 square feet of shimmering gold coating in its faade, mirror-glass skin. And the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, completed in 1973, broke away from the economy of Modernism with a gravity-defying design, as vast central section is held aloft by two concrete piers.

The exhibition concludes with some of the late 20th-century deconstructivist monuments of the 1980s. The era of leveraged buy-outs found its architectural expression in Postmodernism, a style that used classical columns and other overt decorative elements, often on a vast scale. It could lead a building penance—or celebrate its complexity.

From the restrained rigor of the Greek Revival movement to the excesses of Postmodernism, *Money Matters* presents a mass of extremely influential structures and ones that Wagg describes as "just buildings that I felt were truly wonderful." The quirky designs include a 1914 Western, May, bank that boasts an actual trained lion in place of the more common carved-stone lionization. Many of the show's images are superb, whether they depict mere stone-work or an overcast day or glass skyscrapers jutting like prisms into a cloudless sky. As Anne Michels, a curator of the exhibition, says, "Banks are sometimes also temples of artistic achievement."

FAMELA YOUNG in Montreal



Bank of Montreal West End Branch in Montreal: a taste for sumptuous solidity

very noticeable style. To Americans, it meant that America was the New Republic. Canadians would never have gone for that because they were loyal to Britain."

One of the great strengths of *Money Matters* is that it illustrates the ways in which social change and shifts in banking policy have influenced fashions in bank architecture. In the latter half of the 19th century, banks proved the center that lacked a touch of expense and individualism. No longer struggling for acceptance, banks flourished—and, particularly in the United States, they rivaled the historical quest of architectural styles to define distinctive images for themselves. Between the 1850s and the 1890s, U.S. banks decided themselves out in designs that resulted a range of styles, from medieval fortresses to the

and rigid symmetry swept across Canada as well. Meanwhile, an architectural revolution was under way with the invention of the elevator and the introduction of structural steel and reinforced-concrete, skyscrapers became possible. Money Matters presents one fascinating transitional building of the early skyscraper era, Chicago's Illinois Manufacturers Trust Co. (now Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co.) Chicago, built between 1901 and 1904. It looks so tough a columned portico bars a small Greek-temple-style bank has been created at a museum skyscraper's base.

The most radical change in bank architecture occurred after the Second World War. The building of massive North American banks slowed drastically during the Depression and the war, but, in the fields of banking policy and



Roxie van Gogh is portrayed as a nervous wrecked by extraordinary audiences

FILMS

Brothers in art

Robert Altman captures van Gogh's spirit

VINCENT & THEO
Directed by Robert Altman

Robert Altman is back. With *Vincent & Theo*, a vibrant portrait of painter Vincent van Gogh and his brother, the most idiosyncratic of American master directors reveals his richest work since *Masters of Deceit* (1953). For the past decade, Altman has been steadily reworking on a small-scale film about scenes of such plays as *Over the Moon* (1953) and *For the Love of Money* (1953). For the past decade, Altman has been steadily reworking on a small-scale film about scenes of such plays as *Over the Moon* (1953) and *For the Love of Money* (1953). For the past decade, Altman has been steadily reworking on a small-scale film about scenes of such plays as *Over the Moon* (1953) and *For the Love of Money* (1953).

Vincent & Theo measures up to the scale of its subject while maintaining the style of casual intimacy and improvisation that has become Altman's trademark. Two stage-trained British actors deliver superb performances in the title roles. Tim Roth's Vincent is an elusive, brooding workman; Paul Rhys plays his art-

dealer brother, Theo, as a twinkle, sensitive eccentric. The result is a movie that makes us a masterpiece—although that word connotes the sort of art whereby that its director clearly deludes.

In an interview before his film premiered at September's Festival de Cannes in Toronto, Altman said that he was initially reluctant to make a movie about van Gogh. "I don't like these kinds of films generally," he said, "I like about famous people where you tend to get bogged down with fact rather than truth." But he agreed to direct the \$17 million production for a group of European co-producers after setting his own terms. Said Altman: "I know what kind of film I want to do—some after some of enlightenment."

He focused instead on the symbiotic relationship between Vincent and Theo, the art dealer who supported Vincent and tried, unsuccessfully, to sell his paintings. Van Gogh, whose *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* recently sold for \$96.6 million, "was more interested in the process of creating the art than in the product," said Altman, who seems to share the same view. In fact, by showing van Gogh's paintings scattered like in each other around his little studio, the film-makers make a point of "not being respectful of the art," the director noted. "We threw it on the floor. We stepped on it."

Altman dramatizes the absurdity of van Gogh's life in the opening scene. The movie begins with videotaped footage of a van Gogh painting being sold at a recent auction. As the price spirals into an eight-figure stratosphere, the director then cuts to a group, destitute van Gogh stretched on a cot and looking like a hobo. But Altman avoids pathos. Rather than depicting his subject as a tragically misunderstood genius, he portrays him as a neurotically racked by extraordinary ambition. "I don't think he was mad," said Altman. "He came up from the position of someone who didn't have a lot of technique. He worked and worked and worked." Added the director: "I don't think he was very likable."

The movie picks up van Gogh's life early in his career. After starting to paint in 1879, he moves to The Hague two years later to learn from local techniques from his cousin, Anton Mauve (Peter Trueman), who actively discourages him. As van Gogh stubbornly pursues his career, he persuades Sien (Up Wyndersford), a pregnant prostitute whom he has hired as a model, to move in with him. It is a disastrous romance that collapses a year later. Theo, meanwhile, suffers from syphilis, a condition that leads his lover, Marie (Genevieve), to desert him. He later marries Jo Bouquet (Joanna Ter Steege), but his relationship with Vincent remains his overriding obsession. And six months after the artist's death from a self-inflicted bullet wound in 1890, the grid-ironed on Theo dies from natural causes.

Altman's movie unfolds at a languorous pace, uncluttered by a lot of biographical detail. And his stagey blossoms in the later scenes, which chronicle van Gogh's exposure in the south of France, where he shares a studio with the French painter Paul Gauguin (Wladimir Yordanoff). The quarrelling artists from a rival study in contrast—the impulsive van Gogh versus the laconic Gauguin.

In brilliant yellow meditations of sadness and wheat, Altman's camera lingers on the oppressive beauty that drove van Gogh to complete 70 paintings in as many days. Dr. Gachet (Graham Greene) diagnoses his condition: "He's not sick," says Gachet. "It's not an art. The rest of it is not art. We are just people—working people, being people."

There is an obvious parallel between van Gogh and Altman, a master of the camera who often finds himself at odds with Hollywood's commercial establishment. "But I don't have the real that he does," said Altman. "If something doesn't work, I give up." He added, "I'm not as great demand, but unlike Vincent van Gogh, I can't sit in a state-of-the-art hotel and make pictures—it takes millions of dollars." In capturing Vincent & Theo, Altman has, at least unconsciously, captured the film-maker that afflicted his subject: the chronic incompatibility between art and commerce.

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Literary outlaw

A jailed drug dealer spins a gripping tale

While writing his first published novel, Richard Stratton worked in isolation from family and friends, free of such encumbrances as shopping, cooking and paying the bills. He wrote, in his words, at a small table in a spare room in a jail cell. *Small Goodies* (Simon, \$26.50) is a brisk, tightly written tale about a huge international drug-smuggling operation, a subject about which Stratton has intimate knowledge. In two previous trials in 1963 and 1964, the American writer was sentenced to a total of 25 years in prison for conspiring to support assassins and hushhats. He was paroled on June 25, eight years after his arrest. During his trials, he maintained that he had become involved with drug smugglers solely to do research for his novel. Said the author, now 44 and living in New York City: "You get mixed into the secret story—it's so interesting. Running with them is a selective way of life."

Although *Small Goodies* is fiction, it is based on many events from the past two decades of Stratton's life. And several of the characters appear to be composites of his associates, including Toronto drug baron Robert Ramothlan, now in prison, and prominent U.S. author Norman Mailer, who continues to be a friend and wrote a glowing endorsement for the book's jacket.

At the center of the novel is private investigator Arthur Grims, who is hired by an accused drug dealer's lawyer to keep an eye on heroin kingpin Sam Berns-Doreva, the "smack goddess" of the title. The lawyer from that time—Doreva was later to police pressure to testify against his client, jailed, untrusting and solitary, Grims is a direct descendant of hard-boiled fictional detectives like Raymond Chandler's Philip Marlowe—except that, while Marlowe drank Scotch, Grims smokes pot. "The author, who used to regularly contribute articles to the U.S. prison magazine publication *High Times*, acknowledges that in some ways he and Grims are similar. "Sure,"

he said, "some of Grims is me, parts of him, the way he feels about his firm and his dogs."

Stratton's own life has taken some dramatic turns. Born to New England affluence, he dropped out of Amherst State University to become a freelance writer. In 1959, after earning a writing fellowship at the New Arts Workshop in Provincetown, Mass., Stratton met Mailer through a mutual friend. In the decade that followed, Stratton consorted and conspired with Mailer, profiling him for *Rolling Stone* magazine in 1975 and buying a half-

Century's drug-infused Rockdale College, an apartment complex inhabited by young people. There, he met Ramothlan, who ran a flourishing drug empire from his Rockdale apartment. That encounter, says Stratton, sparked the idea of writing a book based on the high-stakes, high-risk world of international drug smuggling. His research over the next five years led to his conviction in a \$100-million marijuana and hashish operation, one of the largest in U.S. legal history.

Stratton contended at his trial that he infiltrated the world of drug business to gather material for his book—a defense that failed despite corroborating testimony from both Mailer and Keenan Goodwin. Stratton served time at three different penitentiaries. Since his parole, the author, who is separated from his wife, Gabriella, has been researching and writing books for the New York law firm of John Fisher, which specializes in defending accused drug dealers.

The novel that resulted from Stratton's incarceration bristles with authenticity. His intimate knowledge of a secretive world is apparent on almost every page. Stratton's intricate tale weaves and curves with details that the author says are based on what he witnessed in the drug world, including dirty drug Enforcement Administration squibs and crooked government endorsements.

Stratton's characters are gray and complex. And part of the book's fascination lies in trying to determine their real-life sources. The flamboyant Sicilian Rade shares some qualities with Ramothlan, whose movement courtrooms into, including prosecution in the so-called character of someone involved in 1977 trial in Remington, Ont. (Ramothlan is currently serving a 20-year sentence for drug smuggling at Collins Bay Institution in Kingston, Ont.) But Rade also mirrors some well-known facets of Mailer's character. The author describes Rade as "an outrageous con artist, and an articulate critic of government policy."

Permeated with the allure of the drug business, the novel examines its effect on adolescent parties such as Grims—at Stratton—who straddles the line between satisfying curiosity and committing crime. "There's no question that I crossed the line, and I crossed it via seduction," said Stratton, who acknowledges that he did technically break the law—for the purposes of research. And now, with *Small Goodies*, Stratton has brought that seduction to a first-rate story.

BEVERLEY ASHERLEY



Stratton, running with drug smugglers is "a selective way of life."

at rest in Mailer's den in Mexico. He was the researcher for Mailer's controversial biography of Marilyn Monroe, *Marilyn*. As well, among Stratton's friends were left-boy journalist Hunter S. Thompson, then political columnist for *Rolling Stone*, Richard Goodwin, former aide and speech writer for president John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, and Goodwin's wife, biographer Doris Kearns Goodwin.

In 1975, *Rolling Stone* sent Stratton to Toronto to research and write the story of

THE CONTEMPORARY CHOICE



Captive of history

A journalist recalls his tumultuous life

TIME ZONES: A JOURNALIST
IN THE WOLFS
By Joe Schlessinger
(Random House, 328 pages, \$26.95)

After, recalls CBC foreign correspondent Joe Schlessinger, "that always been part of my life." As he writes in his new book of memoirs, *Time Zones: A Journalist in the World*, when Schlessinger was growing up in the 1930s in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, he used to joke about the father's family rumors he and even Schlessinger continues: "It was not until Yom Kippur, 1938, that I understood that our lives—the lives of my family, my life—were in danger." Fleeing on the Jewish Day of Atonement, Schlessinger's diabetic father, more over Schlessinger, went into insulin shock. When he regained consciousness, he refused to take a restorative cube of sugar—he was so dependent about the future that he apparently lost the will to live. The father recovered, but for the first time, his son understood the



Schlessinger: revisiting a painful past

danger of Czechoslovakia's Jews, foreshadowing the horrors of the Holocaust.

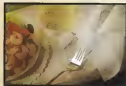
In his career as a foreign correspondent, Schlessinger went on to witness other horrors—in Vietnam, in Mao Tse-tung's China, at the Argentinas of the generals, and elsewhere. He says that he chose to become a journalist because, as an early victim of a monumental tragedy (his parents disappeared during the war and likely died at Auschwitz), he could not pull himself away from tumultuous events. Writes the author, who recently opened a new CBC bureau in Berlin: "I came to journalism somewhat in the same way as an alcoholic may come to bartending."

Schlessinger begins *Time Zones* with a gripping, often heart-rending account of his youth. Born in 1928, he had a reasonably happy childhood until the advent of the Nazis. On June 30, 1939, Joe saw his parents for the last time. After saying goodbye to his mother, he, his younger brother, Simon, and their father spent the night in the washroom at the Lohstein train station in the Nazi-controlled Sudetenland, waiting for what turned out to be the last *Fluchttransport* (children's transport) out of Czechoslovakia. As Jews, they were not allowed to wait on the station platform.

Schlessinger remembers not hesitating, but rather the warmth of the washroom, the odor of the tap-water urinals and his father's quiet words of farewell. "I have caught myself at least looking at my own children," he writes, "trying to capture some fraction of the dread and desperation my father must have felt that

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BOOKS

night." Joe and Kris spent the war years in England, most of that time at a boarding school for Czech orphans. The last communication from their parents was a letter written just days before the deportation of Slovak Jews to Poland and the beginning of the death camps.

After the war, Schlesinger and his brother returned to Czechoslovakia in 1945. But their family and their life with the past had disappeared, and they did not wish to make Czechoslovakia, that desecrating under Stalinist control, their home. In 1950, Schlesinger escaped the country and moved to Vancouver (there had already left for Canada), and spent the next 20 years climbing the Canadian journalistic ladder. Then, in 1970, he left home again to become an international reporter for the CBC.

As a foreign correspondent, Schlesinger does not appear to take himself too seriously, interspersing tales of his journalistic exploits with an understanding of the limitations of his craft. He recognized that radicals holding diplomats captive in the U.S. Embassy in Iran in 1979 manipulated foreign journalists, offering them glimpses of the hostages whenever international interest seemed to wane. "Every time I stood before a camera in front of the embassy," Schlesinger writes, "I was aware that I was being used as a messenger."

Still, his work offered him an opportunity to come to terms with his past. "I came to see that although the scale and the means of the horror that killed my parents were unique," Schlesinger writes, "all horror is unique to those who suffer it." He witnessed some of that horror in 1987, in Guatemala, a village in northern El Salvador obliterated in the war between leftist guerrillas and the right-wing military. There, an old man raised his life to tell Schlesinger in front of a TV camera about the Salvadoran army's violence. "The problems of little people," Schlesinger writes, "are often less than larger problems... much more deadly than the pronouncements of politicians."

Schlesinger's story moves back and forth in time, when in prison, when he devotes two months of *Time* magazine to an analysis of the historical forces that shaped the tragedies he has documented. *Time* Zone is more effective when Schlesinger focuses on his personal encounters with individuals who struggle daily to survive petty tyrannies. They give flesh and blood to what he describes in the "barren language for the free expression of the continental will."

The book concludes with Schlesinger's return to Czechoslovakia last November, when hundreds of thousands of students and workers took to the streets of Prague to overthrow the Communist regime. His report on the victory of virtue, concluding that "despite all the miseries of our age, there is hope." But he also notes that the Jewish community of which he had been a part never recovered from Hitler's brutality. Schlesinger offers an analysis of Czechoslovakia's triumph that seems detached, almost clinical. And he never quite recognizes the emotional intensity that provides the reconciliation of his childhood.

MARY KEMETZ



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BOOKS

Truth in death

A dying woman confronts the horror of apartheid

AGE OF IRON
By J. M. Coetzee
(Crown, 181 pages, \$24.95)

The individual's struggle to balance the needs of the soul with the exigencies of a world gone awry is a theme that occupies many writers around the world. But seldom are the dilemmas as wrenching as those facing South Africans. The anti-apartheid leader that Alan Paton left in his 1948 novel, *Cry, The Beloved Country*, and that authors Nadine Gordimer and J.M. Coetzee's most novel, *Age of Iron*, like *Life and Times of Michael K* (1983), Coetzee's sensitive, Booker Prize-winning portrayal of a simple black man's quest for his place in the world, his latest novel is at once intensely personal and deeply political.

The searcher is Elizabeth Curren, a white mother living alone in a comfortable suburb of Cape Town. On the day she learns that she has terminal cancer, she encounters Mr. Vercueil, a foul-smelling derelict who has erected a cardboard shelter beside her garage. She wants him to leave, but he refuses. Eventually, Elizabeth's need for human companionship overcomes her distaste, and the two embark on an unlikely partnership that supports her in her last, painful days. Written as a long letter from Elizabeth to her only daughter, who has moved to the United States, *Age of Iron* is a rumination on love and death.

As she struggles with her own pain, Elizabeth comes face to face with the specters of the nation. Biko, the 15-year-old son of her black housekeeper, disappears, and Elizabeth draws his mother, Florence, deep into the township to find him. There, she becomes a direct witness to the brutality and madness of apartheid. "When I think upon this land, this South Africa, I have a gathering feeling of walking upon black faces," she laments.

The tone of *Age of Iron* is relentlessly bleak, as dry as ashes, as unyielding as iron. Just yet, as Elizabeth, still haunted by a compassionate character who is struggling for redemption—"to keep a soul alive in times not hospitable to the soul." Ultimately, Elizabeth does without finding the consolation that she seeks, but her struggle kindles a glimmer of goodness in a harsh reality.

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BOOKS

Punching- bag prose

*Mordecai Richler flexes
his satiric muscles*

BOOKREVIEWS BY ANDREW COOPER
By Mordecai Richler
(Penguin, 264 pages, \$26.95)

Like many novelists, Mordecai Richler—who was recently awarded the Commonwealth Prize for his 1988 novel, *Solomon Gundy Was Here*—has enjoyed a successful parallel career as an essayist. Broadside, Richler's fourth book of criticism (others include *Reading Tigers Over Glass* and *Home Sweet Home*) is a selection of articles and reviews published over the past 30 years, mostly in U.S. magazines. Appearing in such publications as *60*, *Playboy* and *The New York Times Book Review*, they cover a range of topics, from the author's bewilderment at his vocation to writing, *New Age* philosophy and the Hollywood film industry. The book suggests, however, that an author has been doing odd material since writing since. And while demonstrating Richler's small money wit and mischievous intelligence, it is not even as obscure as documentary as its title implies. Nor is it as hard-hitting as its denunciation of deconstructed myths in the sociocultural *Solomon Gundy*, which described the rise of a fictional Jewish family in Canada. For Richler, as for many of the best novelists, a book like *Broadside* is a once-upon-a-time before the next life-defining.

Still, Richler is always worth the price of admission. That is evident in the book's first essay, called "Hemlocky Set His Own Rules." Writing about his vocation, Richler states: "What I find more surprising than why anybody became a writer is how many of the boys at school grew up to be cartoonists, or frisco-chicken-breast padgers." But as Richler leaves, people become writers instead of cartoonists because they find the work more interesting. It also offers better opportunities to recreate reality—and imaginatively, at least, to lead better lives.

Richler's reviews of books about such authors as John Cheever, Thomas Capote and J.D. Salinger suggest on that theme, as does a funny and moving story in which he explains the impact on him of Erich Maria Remarque's 1929 novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, when he was a short, pimply, girl-obsessed and decidedly untalented adolescent in 1944. "I had read only 30, maybe 30 pages," he writes, "before the author had reduced me into identifying with my country... almost into the bloody trenches of World War I." As a result of the

experience, Richler recalls, he began to devour books and to understand, for the first time, that he did not live "in the center of the world, but had been born into a working-class family in an unimportant country far from the cities of light London, Paris, New York."

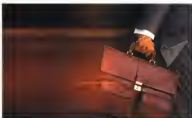
Richler finds the attributes of suburban creative expression as the compromised, concrete-made moments of Hollywood. As someone who has done time in Transit Town himself, he writes candidly about the screenwriter's job, an experience that has left him with little respect for Hollywood actors and even less for movie producers. According to Richler, the screenwriter's burden is a light one. He quotes novelist and screenwriter Larry McMurtry in describing a way to take the hard part out of it: "Take the best screenplay ever written... and compare it, say, with *Middletown*.... Which looks like hard work, which like fun and games?"

Elsewhere in *Broadside*, Richler takes shots at conspiracy theorists and sex therapists who write successfully about Shirley MacLaine on the publication of her book *Dancing on the Edge*, and scorns actress Barbara Hershey ("In her final days, an emaciated, toothless lady, adrift on drugs and booze, Barbara had to fork out \$1,000 to California beach boys to come up to her Beverly Hills hotel bedroom and sleep the breeze with her"). While he does not add anything significantly new to the body of love about Grace Wales, his comments on the legendary actor and film-maker show Richler at his wit's best. He takes issue with the popular notion of Wales's "unfulfilled promise," pointing out that after the success of his 1943 movie, *On the Beach*, the saga of an American newspaper magazine that he completed at 24, Wales left "almost all his projects incomplete for one convulsed cybernetic reason or another, his constant life reduced to self-remembering accidents." And in a reference to the TV commercial that Wales later made for Paul Masson wine, Richler comments, "Imagine, if you will, the 26-year-old Cheever, unable to finance his next play, sitting still for a media commercial."

Throughout his career, Richler has been an intense and somewhat obsessive observer of the Canadian political scene. But, with a few exceptions (Maclean's in 1984, the Quebec saga level), *Broadside* contains little contemporary political commentary. However, in a personal essay dated June 30, 1988, Richler offers some candid advice to Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau about his long-standing electoral promise to sponsor a baby-boom election encouraging French-Canadian to increase their birthrate. (That proposal was subsequently implemented by Conservative Liberal government in 1987.) Writes Richler: "Like most proposed PQ measures, this one does not go nearly far enough. Obviously something will have to be done about ready Jews.... home loans and what the PQ charmingly calls neo-beavers, that is to say Goveks, Italians and Portuguese, all necessarily neo-crimes."

In *Broadside*, Richler himself does not go far enough. The book is a winner, but not by a longshot.

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FILMS

The male bestiary

Two Quebec movies mine the burlesque

There is a pronounced strain of burlesque in Quebec's popular culture—the kind of raucous caricature that goes hand in hand with a strong cultural identity. And it takes different forms in the movies. *Le Parti* and *Crossing Barri* are two Quebec hits now being released in English Canada. *Le Parti* is a social-protest drama; *Crossing Barri* is a comedy. Although one is funny and the other scary, both are raucous explorations of male virility.

In *Le Parti*, the focus is on an actual burlesque troupe, which is invited to perform at a men's prison by the inmates' committee. The movie was inspired by an idea from lawyer Rita Tremblay. Frouse Saurat, who organized a similar event while serving 11 years of a life sentence at the Lacerte Institute in Lével, Que. It was written and directed by Montreal documentary filmmaker Pierre Falardeau, making his first dramatic feature.

A profane slice of prison life, *Le Parti* unfolds with the raw realism of a documentary. There is no star and no hero. It is like a concert movie with a burlesque backstage intrigue. Passing around cigarettes and bottles of moonshine, a wild crowd of 300 convicts is treated to a show that features two strippers, a lady magician, a brass sextet, torch singer and a hard-rock band. As the warden and his colleagues watch nervously from the balcony, the strippers work the stage into a screaming frenzy. Later, an inmate avoided onstage by the band delivers a song called *Le Sexe* (the penis), a scathing look-alike at castrating a prison employer at his home, wailing his cue with a crowbar and ripping his wife.

Backstage, the performers conduct a break conversation in contraband sex. One of the strippers prostitutes herself, while the troupe's transvestite dancer and sex for hire. The

other stripper, a compassionate beauty named Alexandra (Charlotte Lévesque), finds a romance with a member of the inmates' committee. Meanwhile, Frouse (Alain Morin), an inmate who has plotted an elaborate escape, spends the show in the dressing room disguising himself as a woman. Another inmate, Jovier (Julien Poulin), is locked in solitary, contemplating suicide while his girlfriend (Lisa Bédard), a country singer with the troupe, frets in the wings.

Cutting between the show, the audience and the various subplots, the movie presents a three-tiered paragon of the class system. The inmates are the workers. The performers are the artists, making money with a vision of liberation. And in the balcony sits the ruling class—the prison administration—neavily allowing a little freedom of expression.

Director Falardeau's lens is severely clear: the inmates are not as vulgar as the prison and the system that supports it. Attracting middle-class propriety, he makes an easy target of an assembly of dumb female journalists visiting the prison. But the other characters are con-

vincing. And although the director doesn't leave his message with a heavy hand, his brass-bracketed costumes suit his subject. Well-acted and delectably conceived, *Le Parti*'s party of the damned leaves an indelible impression.

Crossing Barri, on the other hand, is a lightweight farce. Its day-of-the-life scenario weaves tales of four men trying to pick up women. The movie's appeal begins and ends with a brilliant comic performance by Michel Côté, who plays all four. His characters are so distinct that, without knowing, it would be hard to guess they are all played by the same actor. They are assigned a history of misadventures in the movies: the Peacock, the Bull, the Lion and the Worm.

Charles the Peacock is a preposterously vain bachelor who has received professional training in making himself irresistible to women. He drives a Rolls and prepares for his night on the town by getting a massage, a haircut and a manicure. He buys fashion magazines and takes them strategically around his luxury apartment.

Jerry, the Bull, is a Cadillac-driving, beer-bellied body-shop manager who enjoys a high turnover of sex partners. Telling his wife that he is going to a Chamber of Commerce meeting, he spends the evening picking up women in rapid succession.

And having sex with them in an adjoining hotel room.

Patrick, the Lion, is a sweet but stupid party animal with a rock 'n' roll taste of blond hair. He is trying to shake a cocaine habit and rekindle a romance. A humiliating rejection by day, he grows stronger by pumping iron while listening to heavy metal in a warehouse.

George, the Worm, is an acne-ravaged loser terrified by the prospect of meeting girls, but determined to try. His face spotted with teenage-covered shaving cuts, he looks for love in the apocalyptic crash of a punk club.

The four characters add up to a wretched comedy of male miseries. Côté is hilarious, especially as the Peacock. But well before the end of the movie, his act wears thin. *Crossing Barri* presents a patchwork of richly observed sketches that never coalesce into a movie. While watching the movie, Côté's characters also seem to be in search of a story. Director Robert Menard, who co-wrote the script, fails to knit the story lines with a satisfactory resolution. All four characters meet promising fates. Like *Le Parti*, *Crossing Barri* is a tale of unrequited love—if only in the sense that the men are desperately trying to break out of solitary. In both movies, there is no redemption when the party's over.

BRUNN B. JOHNSON



Côté in *Crossing Barri*: a scathing comedy of sexual manners



Lévesque in *Le Parti*: a profane slice of prison life



No designer food? It must be recession

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

We all have our ways of measuring when the recession hits. It comes long before the wash my-mouth-out-with soap. Michael Wilson actually lets the R-word escape his lips. You see the scuffed soles take a little longer. The weekly debaucher will last another season after all. The farmers can't sell their bumper crop of wheat and the price of fish goes down. Wal-Mart factories close in Windsor and there's not as much beer sold at the Bluebird Room in Toronto, the centre of Western civilization, it is different. It finally hit the Big Crab Apple the other day that there was indeed a recession lurking in the land when Creds of Bloor Street filed for bankruptcy. This was somewhat like the Wilson group leader Max from *Rounders* to Forest Hill (now in the smiling suits). There is nothing sacred left in the world that bears thinking about if Creds has gone broke up.

Creds, to every woman worth her personal portfolio, was what distinguished Toronto from *Where Love and Artwork*. About one thigh-high-leather-boot length from the upper reaches of Bay Street, the 15-year-old store catered to those who dared to be known by plastic stile. At one time, designer vases in the special Creds warehouse located some \$100,000 (in costs) to the consumer media.

For many, distinguishing those Toronto women who can afford those from those who can't, are the trademark of Bloor Street—a thoroughfare with wall-to-wall sidewalk filled with the ladies who shop till they drop. The heavy little heels must be coddled and comforted as the sticky summer months. Otherwise, apparently, they sink and sink in their Resolute mansions and must be kept away from the frost flies in their own climate-controlled vaults—much one, presumably, labelled with baby's first number.

The Creds tragically really sank in to the Dunsford era because, you see, there was another database available previously. Bloor's, the restaurant that every waitress in Toronto knows too well, failed because of financial mismanagement. It was rather like Nelson's col-



umn disappearance from Trafalgar Square. A little closer visit through Trafalgar.

In Peter Berton's *Depression* book, he recounts the familiar tale of ferns from the Princes died in dreams made from four sacks, the cellular brand name on the front never quite bleached out. That's how you know the evening was in trouble. In Toronto, the people generation detected that a recession was upon us, when Berton's and then Creds declared bankruptcy.

Berton's was the essential fern bar. It introduced novelties come to a newly excited city that was graduating from the grilloid cheese sandwiches of the Royal York—create over a plate before you that was not so much eaten as it was admired.

Such was the beauty of the arrangements of the months before you, you were coddled sure to rearrange it then to eat it. The patrons at Berton's, decked one regular, "would suit a

badge." When it opened in 1976, *The Globe and Mail's* usually gloomy restaurant critic Joanne Kates wrote, "My little buds are jumping for joy, my amulet has been coddled to the point of ecstasy."

In 1990, alas, the landlord had not been coddled into ecstasy. The North American Life Assurance Co.—who else?—sent to the building one Monday morning before the staff arrived, whisked away the furniture, had wires twisting out of walls where light fixtures were ripped away and left the luscious flower arrangements strewn across the floor.

Such is life when yuppies die. There are definite signs of mourning. "I can't imagine Toronto without Creds," said one loyal customer. "It's quite shocking." A friend of a friend, a former Creds employee, browsing through the lingerie department. The death of Berton's elicited the same response. "I was numb," said one witness. "I grieved deeply," said another—sentiments that we would associate with the assassination of a world leader.

Such is the nature of our desperate parts. While one reporter showed that the sudden industry in shiny lock-with-Silicon soap was not one of the city's most pressing problems, other more sensitive souls disagreed. The ladies who teach felt that a Thursday was not worth being without a group session in the fenced-in garden section of Berton's, where they could mention their sea-tinged bodies with breast of chicken cradled with veal, rats and ginger.

Who is to say, in their relative sense of grief, that Saskatchewan's problems with selling wheat on the world market is a greater source of concern? To each his own, and the ad agency types who were shades throughout the bygone are now deprived of spotlight, through the tiny screens, such as John Gaspard, Peter Ostrow or Sir Ralph Rubenstein rearranging their designer look. Who is most deprived?

It is a tough world that we live in, thanks to Wilson, Mulroney and Huxtable. We all must shoulder our duties and make our space. The Atlantic provinces, so used, are being closed by external forces they cannot lose. What's not selling and Don Getty doesn't know what is up or down. British Columbia has to put up with the sea and Bill Vander Zant, who can't even figure out what he owes and what he owed to take under the name of Lillian Westhead.

Who, then, can adequately empathize with the mourners of Bloor Street and consummate the artist and designer food both being endangered species? We must be at one with our fellow sufferers.

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